

# Notes

Common abbreviations used in the notes: **CIA** Central Intelligence Agency; **CRO** Commonwealth Relations Office; **FCO** Foreign and Commonwealth Office; **FRUS** *Foreign Relations of the United States*; **MFA** Ministry of Foreign Affairs; **NAS** National Archives of Singapore; **OHC** Oral History Centre; **PMO** Prime Minister's Office; **UPI** United Press International.

## INTRODUCTION

1. Speech at the opening of the National Youth Conference, 16 July 1982. 2. Speech inaugurating the NTUC political education course, 10 February 1982.

## CHAPTER 1: RIOTS

1. Interview with Othman Wok, 13 June 2005. 2. *Ibid.* 3. At 10 a.m. the next day, on 22 July, the government announced that the curfew would be re-imposed at 11:30 a.m. in response to further disorder in the morning. 4. Interview with Tharumaratnam Chelliah, OHC, NAS. 5. Broadcast by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, 21 July 1964, NAS. 6. Interview with S. Rajaratnam by Foong Choon Hon, *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam* (Singapore: Shin Min Daily News, 1991). 7. *New Straits Times*, 25 October 1999. 8. The Muslim character of Kampong Glam owed much to the country's colonial past – the area was officially allocated to Malay-Muslims and Arabs in Raffles's town plan. 9. "Prime Minister Requested to Withdraw Quit Notice. 3,000 Malay Residents Threatened", *Utusan Melayu*, 28 May 1964. The Jawi script newspaper, founded in 1939, was taken over by UMNO in 1961. 10. The series of dialogues culminated in a mammoth meeting on 19 July 1964 with Lee at Victoria Theatre. The discussion, chaired by Othman, involved about a thousand Malay leaders. Lee repeated the government's promise: "It is the intention of this Government to do what is right and fair, and we will not be intimidated from doing our best in looking after the interests of the people of Singapore, including the Malays." 11. Interview with Othman Wok, 13 June 2005. 12. Fanning the anger of Malays on 5 June, Radio Indonesia accused Singapore's "Chinese government" of forcing Malays out of the city so that the Chinese could be in control. 13. Speech at a children's party at the Kota Raja Community Centre to celebrate Hari Raya and Chinese New Year, 22 February 1964. 14. Interview with Mohamed Khir Johari, OHC, NAS. 15. Airgram from American Consulate (Singapore) to Department of State, 27 August 1964. 16. Interview with Yap Chin Kwee, 4 September 2005. 17. Interview with Mohamed Khir Johari, 2 September 2005. 18. Interview with Mohamed Khir Johari, OHC, NAS. 19. Some Federation leaders, such as Razak and Albar, traced the beginnings of the riots to insensitive PAP rhetoric, particularly Lee's speech in Seremban on 30 June that referred to the unmentionable fact that non-Malays outnumbered the Malays in Malaysia. 20. Abdullah Ahmad, *Tengku Abdul Rahman and Malaysia's Foreign Policy, 1963–1970* (Kuala Lumpur: Berita, 1985). 21. S. Durai Raja Singam, ed. *Tribute to Tunku Abdul Rahman (On His 60th Birthday), February 8th 1963* (Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Times, 1963). 22. On the same day, 24 July 1964, Khir and his team were visiting Geylang Serai, a hotbed of UMNO activism, with Lee Kuan Yew in attendance. From archival photos of the visit, it was apparent that Khir was very much in charge, with Lee largely sidelined by the Malaysian party. 23. Interview with Toh Chin Chye, in Melanie Chew, *Leaders of Singapore* (Singapore: Resource Press, 1996). 24. Interview with Lee Khoon Choy, 20 June 2005. 25. Words and images have consequences. The Maria Hertogh riots in 1950, fuelled by sensational newspaper reports whipping up religious passions, had taught him that. See Irene Ng, *The Singapore Lion: A Biography of S. Rajaratnam* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010), pp. 121–24. 26. Interview with Lee Khoon Choy, 20 June 2005. 27. At the time, the position was called Secretary to the PM. It is the equivalent

of today's Principal Private Secretary. 28. Interview with Herman Hochstadt, 13 May 2012. 29. Interview with S. Rajaratnam by Foong Choon Hon, *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*.

## CHAPTER 2: CHOICES

1. Interview with Goh Keng Swee, OHC, NAS. 2. Ibid. 3. Goh Keng Swee's notes of meetings with Tun Razak and others in KL on 28 and 29 July 1964, Albatross I, PMO Collection, NAS. 4. The British deputy high commissioner of Singapore confirmed this account in his report of his meeting with Lee, Toh and Rajaratnam on the afternoon of 28 July 1964. Telegram to CRO, 28 July 1964. 5. Interview with Goh Keng Swee, OHC, NAS. 6. Ibid. 7. The PAP's last-minute decision was also motivated by the special circumstances in which the elections were held. The Indonesian Confrontation was continuing and almost all opposition parties in Malaysia had banded together under the leadership of the pro-communist Socialist Front (closely allied with Barisan Sosialis in Singapore) to oppose Malaysia. The PAP's fear was that a large vote for the anti-Malaysia parties in the opposition would be presented by the anti-Malaysia forces as a protest against Malaysia. They feared that it would give encouragement to Indonesia and the other anti-Malaysia forces to intensify their attacks on Malaysia. Raja wrote in the party's election manifesto: "The PAP's immediate objective in this elections is to secure the defeat of all the Socialist Front stooges it is confronted with." The long-term objective was "to assist in the evolution of a democratic, united and prosperous Malaysia based on the principles of social justice and non-communalism". 8. Lee said he knew that the CEC was aware of his reservations before he left. "But the Tunku had allowed peninsular UMNO and MCA, MIC Alliance leaders to intervene in the Singapore general elections in September 1963. So the CEC considered all bets off," Lee said. "Although I was not personally enamoured of the proposal, I abided by the decision." Despite drawing mammoth crowds to its rallies, the PAP won only one seat, in Bungsar. The Alliance increased its share of the vote to 57 per cent and its parliamentary strength to 89 out of 104 Malayan seats. 9. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, OHC, NAS. 10. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005. 11. CIA, "Special Report – Malaysia's Internal Problems", 27 March 1964, <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79-00927A004400050003-8.pdf>. 12. Ibid. 13. Interview with Goh Keng Swee, OHC, NAS. 14. The PAP made clear from the start that it was not opposing UMNO, nor the Tunku, nor any part of the Malay leadership of the Alliance. Raja announced that two of its nominees for Johore constituencies would not contest because, contrary to PAP expectations, their Alliance opponents were UMNO and not MCA members. Lee himself made clear in various election rallies that the UMNO leadership – the Tunku, Tun Razak and Datik Ismail – must be supported. 15. Interview with Abdullah Ahmad, 7 August 2008. 16. Ibid. 17. Interview with Yap Chin Kwee, 4 September 2005. 18. W. Bentley, British High Commission, KL, to A. J. Brown, CRO, London, 1 July 1965. Bentley enclosed a copy of Philip Moore's conversation with Ghazali on 4 June when the latter was in Singapore to speak to the University Socialist Club. 19. In his oral history, Devan Nair related that when he met the Tunku in his house in Penang in 1979, the Tunku was still fuming about how Lee broke faith with him by contesting the 1964 election. Devan, who was in Lee's "truth mission" entourage, told the Tunku that he was wrong about Lee; the decision was taken by Toh and Raja while they were away. "The Tunku still found it difficult to believe that when I told him. But that was the truth." Interview with Devan Nair, 9 January 1981, OHC, NAS. 20. Telegram from Pritchett to Canberra, 15 May 1964. 21. Transcript of interview by Raj Vasil, 1968, NAS. 22. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005. 23. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009. 24. *Weekend Today*, 15–16 May 2010. 25. Interview with Rajaratnam, Melanie Chew, *Leaders of Singapore*. 26. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009. 27. Interview with Yong Nyuk Lin, 31 August 2005. 28. Speech during visit to Jalan Besar constituency, 29 July 1964. 29. Minutes of the second monthly ministerial staff meeting, 7 August 1964, GPD 37/50, Ministry of Culture Collection, NAS. 30. Toh was then acting prime minister. According to Lee, Toh was nervous in handling the situation in his absence, imposing a curfew without a grace notice and "increasing alarm and causing chaos as everyone had to rush home". Goh left Singapore on 6 September to join the Malaysian delegation to the UN. 31. Telegram from the American Consulate (Singapore) to Department of State, 21 September 1964. 32. Speech by Dato Syed Ja'afar Albar at the Malay convention at the New Star Theatre, Pasir Panjang, 12 July 1964. 33. Memorandum submitted by the Government of Singapore to the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Singapore

in 1964 (issued March 1965). 34. Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story: Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew* (Singapore: Times Editions, Singapore Press Holdings, 1998). 35. S. Rajaratnam, "Solution to the Communal Problem", *Petir*, March 1965. 36. *Ibid.* 37. Memorandum from W.B Pritchett to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 2 October 1964. 38. *The Straits Times*, 12 December 1964. 39. Interview with Lim Kim San, OHC, NAS. 40. Interview with Chen Man Hin, 2 October 2004. 41. *Ibid.* 42. Interview with Subramaniam Munian, OHC, NAS. 43. Interview with V.K. Pillay, 1 June 2005. 44. Interview with Vijayalakshmi Thambiah, 2 October 2004. 45. Interview with Vijayaratnam Seevaratnam, 4 September 2005. 46. Interview with Low Yong Nguan, 20 May 2014. Low was a PAP MP (Crawford) for one term from 1968 to 1972, after which he returned to Kampong Glam to help Raja in his branch and grassroots. In 1986, Low joined the opposition.

### CHAPTER 3: POLITICS AND PIROSKA

1. Singapore Legislative Assembly debate, 13 November 1964. 2. Sound recording of Mrs S. Rajaratnam's speech at the opening of the international festival, organised by the YWCA, 13 November 1964, NAS. 3. *Ibid.* 4. Interview with S. Rajaratnam by Foong Choon Hon, *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*. 5. Interview with Nina Cohen, 30 March 2008. 6. Interview with Nalini Nair, 28 September 2006. 7. Interview with Dennis Bloodworth, 12 February 2005. 8. Raja's view was that Singapore's participation in the UN as part of the Malaysian delegation offered "concrete proof that Singapore was a truly independent country, which had the right of participating in foreign affairs". This, he noted, was in contrast to the British colonial days when Singapore had no say in foreign affairs. *The Straits Times*, 18 October 1963. In the self-governing years from 1959 to 1963, Singapore enjoyed autonomy in all areas of governance except for foreign affairs and defence, which remained under British control. 9. As Ong confessed to his delegation at the time, Malaysia's principal contact with Africa and Latin America was with their UN delegations in New York. *The Straits Times*, 22 November 1963. 10. The committee dealt with colonial and trusteeship matters. 11. South West Africa later became independent as Namibia. The issue had particular significance for the Third World. The ideology that white people were superior in civilisation to "coloured" people had served to justify European imperialism and colonial subjugation. Apartheid dramatised the still-evolving history of racial insult and injury to the black peoples of Africa and, by extension, to all other non-white people under colonial rule. South West Africa had been on the UN agenda for 17 years by the time Raja spoke on it in 1963. It would take another 27 years and a debilitating guerrilla war before South West Africa won its independence in 1990 and became Namibia. As for the South African apartheid policy, which Raja would continue to decry over the years, it would come to a definitive end only in 1994 – six years after he retired from politics. 12. In his first speech, on 31 October, Raja called for the complete isolation of South Africa, with major powers withdrawing their support from the regime. Only then would South Africa listen to reason, he argued, and only then would the white South Africans come to terms with the "coloured majority of Africa" and abandon the "absurd myth of white supremacy". Raja noted that "the racial jingoism and the reckless arrogance that South Africa has boldly flaunted in the face of a hostile world opinion are sustained by the expectation of help and sustenance, direct or indirect, from influential friends". His second speech, on 21 November, was equally trenchant, but this time targeted at the UN itself. He worded it to shame the world community and call it out for cowardice. While decrying Portugal's continued occupation of South West Africa, he said the important question was whether the UN, with its prestige and effectiveness at stake, was determined to end the regime, "which was merely a continuation of slavery". He argued that Portuguese colonialism and South African racist imperialism were closely linked. His delegation therefore hoped that, at the current session, the discussion on the issue would no longer be "mere ritual, but would lead to effective action". 13. The American news agency UPI, then one of the largest newswire services in the world, picked up his speech. "Isolate the Whites in S. Africa' Call to UN by Rajaratnam", *The Straits Times*, 2 November 1963. 14. S. Rajaratnam's talk at the Political Study Centre, "Malaysia and the Changing Pattern of World Politics (2)", 27 January 1964, NAS. Key excerpts from the talk were aired on the radio in a series of four 15-minute broadcasts over four parts in February. The talks were also translated into Malay, Chinese and Tamil for broadcast. 15. *The Straits Times*, 30 November 1963. 16. Speech at the opening of the Thirukkural conference, organised by the Malaysian Dravidian Progressive Federation, 8 November 1964, NAS.

## CHAPTER 4: FACE OFF

1. Lee Kuan Yew's eulogy for the late S. Rajaratnam during the state funeral at the Esplanade Concert Hall, 25 February 2006, NAS. 2. Ibid. 3. Ibid. 4. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009. 5. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, OHC, NAS. 6. The PAP's statement of objectives and policy issued by Raja to mark its 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary set out the PAP's aim to convince the moderate leadership of the Malays that there was a "rational economic" method – as opposed to an "irrational political" one – to abolishing rural poverty. The party's role towards this aim was "not to take an aggressive lead", but to "provide a catalyst, through ideas and example for the emergence of leaders in other parts of Malaysia who were sympathetic to the democratic socialist cause". 7. See Hong Lysa and Huang Jianli, *The Scripting of a National History: Singapore and Its Pasts* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008). 8. Under British rule, Singapore was part of Malaya and associated with the states in the north, as the British administrations were linked. Singapore was essentially an entrepot economy, making money not by producing goods but by being a trade conduit for goods. Malaya and Singapore were politically separated in 1957 when the former achieved independence from the British. Singapore attained internal self-government in 1959. The Tunku had feared that by including Singapore – with its Chinese majority – the Malays would lose their political dominance. It was only in 1961, when the communist threat became acute in Singapore, that the Tunku, with bitter memories of the Emergency against the Malayan Communist Party from 1948 to 1960, contemplated merger with Singapore on the condition that the two Borneo territories, with their non-Chinese populations, would also join in to form Malaysia. The Tunku harboured dark fears that Communist China would extend its influence to the immigrant Chinese living in Malaya, and that the Malays, if outnumbered by the Chinese, would be dominated both politically and economically by the latter. Such fears were also widespread among Malays on the peninsula. 9. "Address by the Director of Political Bureau, S. Rajaratnam, at the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration of the People's Action Party", Petir, December 1964. 10. Rajaratnam's New Year message, 1 January 1965. 11. The Alliance won 89 out of the 104 seats contested; together with the 37 from the allied parties in Sabah and Sarawak, the Alliance had a commanding 126 seats. 12. Under the Malaysia Agreement signed in July 1963, Singapore would contribute 40 per cent of its revenue to the federal government, and a common market would be set up over 12 years. Singapore would also provide a \$150 million development loan to Sabah and Sarawak, two-thirds of which would be interest-free for five years. 13. Report by Australian High Commission in KL, 4 January 1965. 14. Malaysian Parliamentary Debates, Dewan Ra'ayat (House of Representatives): Official Report, 3 December 1964. 15. W.B. Pritchett to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, 16 December 1964. 16. The Singapore Alliance, which was the Singapore offshoot of the Federation Alliance, fielded sufficient candidates to form a government – 42 for the 51 seats. 17. Speech at the Alpha Society and Temasek Society dinner talk, Le Meridien hotel, Orchard Road, 13 January 1990, Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 18. *The Straits Times*, 4 March 1964. 19. Election manifesto of the People's Action Party, 1964. 20. *The Straits Times*, 28 March 1964. 21. Interview with Goh Keng Swee, OHC, NAS. 22. *The Straits Times*, 12 December 1964. 23. The Singapore branch of the Bank of China handled the financial arrangements for trade between Singapore and China as well as remittances. 24. This approach was a precursor to "soft power", a term coined only in the late 1980s to refer to the ability to secure influence by persuasion or attraction as opposed to hard power. Soft power arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals and policies. Hard power, the ability to coerce, grows out of a country's military or economic might. 25. *The Straits Times*, 21 December 1964. 26. Tan said that while the central government did give an assurance to Singapore that the Bank of China would not be closed immediately on the formation of Malaysia, "there was no undertaking of any kind that this period would be lengthened indefinitely". 27. *The Straits Times*, 31 December 1964. 28. Ibid. 29. Statement by the Minister for Culture in reply to Mr Tan Siew Sin, Malaysian Minister for Finance, 31 December 1964, Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 30. Letter from Rajaratnam to Senu, 4 January 1965, Ministry of Culture, PMO 077/63, PMO Collection, NAS. 31. Malaysian Parliamentary Debates, Dewan Ra'ayat: Official Report, 11 December 1964. 32. Speech on the budget estimates for the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 18 December 1964, Malaysian Parliamentary Debates, Dewan Ra'ayat: Official Report. 33. Interview with Lim Chong Eu, 6 July 2005. 34. *Lee, The Singapore Story: Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew*. 35. *The Straits Times*, 10 December 1964. 36. "Memorandum from the Prime Minister" on "Possible constitutional re-arrangements", Albatross I, PMO Collection, NAS. 37. Ibid.

## CHAPTER 5: THE MEMO

1. Lee Kuan Yew said in his memoirs that his memorandum, prepared as the basis for his talks with the Tunku, was completed by 25 January 1965. Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story: Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew*. 2. "Memorandum from the Prime Minister" on "Possible constitutional re-arrangements", Albatross I, PMO Collection, NAS. 3. Memorandum titled "Comments from the Minister for Culture on P.M.'s memorandum", Albatross I, PMO Collection, NAS. 4. Lee referred to Raja's memo when he met Moore on 27 January 1965. 5. Memorandum titled "Comments from the Minister for Culture on P.M.'s memorandum", Albatross I, PMO Collection, NAS. 6. Notes of conversation between Lee Kuan Yew and Philip Moore, 27 January 1965. 7. Ibid. 8. For a good summary of the concerns of the Australian position, see the Department of External Affairs ministerial brief, "Relations between the Federal and Singapore Governments", Canberra, 9 March 1965. 9. Notes of conversation between Lee Kuan Yew and Philip Moore, 27 January 1965. 10. *The Straits Times*, 29 January 1965. 11. *Berita Harian*, 30 January 1965. 12. Notes of meeting with the Tunku and Dr Ismail on 31 January 1965 at the Residency, KL. Note written by Lee Kuan Yew on 6 February 1965, Albatross I, PMO Collection, NAS. 13. *The Straits Times*, 15 February 1965. 14. Ibid. 15. Ibid. For an excellent summary of events in this period, see Albert Lau's *A Moment of Anguish: Singapore in Malaysia and the Politics of Disengagement* (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1998). 16. *The Straits Times*, 17 February 1965. 17. *The Straits Times*, 18 February 1965. 18. Speech by Raja at PAP Bungsar branch in KL, 17 February 1965. 19. Interview with Lee Khoon Choy, OHC, NAS. 20. Raja was involved in the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, which gathered representatives from Malaya, Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore from August 1961 to February 1962 to formulate the terms for creating the new nation of Malaysia. 21. *The Straits Times*, 18 February 1965. 22. *The Straits Times*, 3 March 1965. 23. Transcript of documentary, "The 9th of August", broadcast on 18 June 2002. Rajaratnam's private papers with author. 24. *The Straits Times*, 21 February 1965. Full speech reproduced in April 1965 issue of *Petir*. 25. *Petir*, April 1965. 26. *The Straits Times*, 19 February 1965. 27. Interview with Khir Johari, 2 September 2005.

## CHAPTER 6: TOWARDS A MALAYSIAN MALAYSIA

1. Lee, *The Singapore Story: Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew*. 2. Notes by Rajaratnam of Meeting between PAP representatives and those from Sabah, Sarawak and Malaya held at Sri Temasek on 12 February 1965, Malaysia Solidarity National Convention, PM 002/65, PMO Collection, NAS. 3. The UPKO's Donald Stephens was at the time in a power struggle with his UMNO-supported rival, Mustapha Harun, from the United Sabah National Organisation (USNO), who was appointed Sabah's head of state. Since the formation of Malaysia in 1963, the KL-directed Alliance strengthened Mustapha at the expense of Stephens, and sought to impose its communal-based system in Sabah. By 1967, Stephens lost his Cabinet seat. UPKO was dissolved in December that year. 4. Notes by Rajaratnam of meeting between PAP representatives and those from Sabah, Sarawak and Malaya held at Sri Temasek on 12 February 1965, Malaysia Solidarity National Convention, PM 002/65, PMO Collection, NAS. 5. Confidential letter from Lim Chong Eu to Zainal Abidin Haji Abas, KL, dated 18 February 1965, Malaysia Solidarity National Convention, PM 002/65, PMO Collection, NAS. 6. *The Straits Times*, 19 February 1965. 7. Letter from Ong Kee Hui to Rajaratnam dated 22 February 1965, Malaysia Solidarity National Convention, PM 002/65, PMO Collection, NAS. 8. Interview with Lee Khoon Choy, 20 June 2005. 9. Chew, *Leaders of Singapore*. 10. J. Norman Parmer, "Malaysia 1965: Challenging the Terms of 1957", *Asian Survey* 6, no. 2 (February 1966). 11. Notes of conversation between Lee Kuan Yew and P.B.C. Moore, deputy high commissioner, Singapore, 1 March 1965. 12. Speech by Lee Kuan Yew at Malacca, 3 March 1965, NAS. 13. Notes of conversation between Lee Kuan Yew and Moore, Singapore, 19 June 1965. 14. During that period, Lee and Goh were holding talks with the Tunku, Razak and Ismail on the proposed rearrangements. On 23 and 24 February 1965, Lee had discussions with Lord Head, the British high commissioner in Kuala Lumpur. The premier thereafter circulated notes of the meetings to the Cabinet with his own assessment, which included this line. Albatross I, PMO Collection, NAS. 15. Cablegram from T.K. Critchley, Australian high commissioner in KL, to Paul Hasluck, the Australian minister for external affairs, 3 March 1965. 16. Ibid. 17. Cablegram from Antony Head, British high commissioner in KL, to CRO, 4 March 1965. 18. The British were particularly worried about internal security being transferred to Singapore,

and they stoked the Tunku's fears about the danger of Singapore becoming communist controlled. 19. In Lee's conversation with Moore on 19 June 1965, after the launch of the Malaysian Solidarity Convention rally on 6 June, Lee said he had been unable to get disengagement "partly because of the British pressure on the Tunku and partly because his own colleagues of peninsula origin insisted on carrying the fight into the peninsula". But, as the Tunku had indicated to the British and Australians diplomats as early as March, there was by then already no prospect of talks with Lee for disengagement. 20. *The Straits Times*, 26 July 1965. 21. *The Straits Times*, 25 July 1965. 22. S. Rajaratnam, "Solution to the Communal Problem", *Petir*, March 1965. 23. Telegram "Singapore summary No 6. (10–22 March)" from British High Commission, Singapore, to British High Commission, KL, despatched 23 March 1965. 24. Cablegram from Pritchett, Australian High Commission, Singapore, to Canberra, 21 April 1965. 25. "Increasing Malay-Chinese rivalry in Malaysia", CIA special report, 9 April 1965. 26. *The Straits Times*, 25 April 1965. 27. *The Straits Times*, 28 April 1965. 28. *The Straits Times*, 29 April 1965. 29. Interview with Abdullah Ahmad, 7 August 2008. 30. The delegates at the inaugural Malaysian Solidarity Convention held at Sri Temasek on 9 May 1965 were as follows. From the PAP: Toh Chin Chye, Ong Pang Boon, Othman Wok, E.W. Barker and Lee Khoo Choy; from the UDP: Lim Chong Eu, Abdul Wahab Mohamed Yassin and Lim Meng See; from the SUPP: Stephen Yong and Marican Salleh; from the PPP: D.R. Seenivasagam; and from Machinda: M. Buma and Leong Ho Yuen. 31. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009. 32. *Ibid.* In his early years as prime minister, Lee, who sought to identify with the non-aligned countries, was an admirer of Cambodia and its foreign policy. 33. *Ibid.* 34. *Ibid.* 35. Prior to the formation of Malaysia, Singapore and Malaya each received separate quotas, but in 1964 Britain decided to issue one quota for the whole of Malaysia. Negotiations between Britain, the Malaysian central government and Singapore took place from November 1964 to March 1965. On 21 March 1965, Goh announced that the talks had collapsed. Since the row started, three factories in Singapore had closed shop, with almost two thousand retrenched – nearly half the number of workers laid off as a result of the Indonesian confrontation. 36. *The Straits Times*, 22 March 1965. 37. Interview with Goh Keng Swee, OHC, NAS. 38. *Ibid.* 39. *Ibid.*

#### CHAPTER 7: THE FINAL ACT

1. Malaysia Parliamentary Debates, Dewan Ra'ayat (House of Representatives): Official Report, 26 May 1965. 2. Sound recording of culture minister S. Rajaratnam's speech on "Concept and Implementation of a Malaysian Malaysia" at a forum organised by the Democratic Socialist Club, University of Singapore, 7 June 1965, NAS. 3. Transcript of speech by Singapore's prime minister Lee Kuan Yew during the debate in the federal parliament on 27 May 1965, NAS. 4. Sound recording of culture minister S. Rajaratnam's speech on "Concept and Implementation of a Malaysian Malaysia" at a forum organised by the Democratic Socialist Club, University of Singapore, 7 June 1965, NAS. 5. Malaysia Parliamentary Debates, Dewan Ra'ayat: Official Report, 3 June 1965. 6. Malaysia Parliamentary Debates, Dewan Ra'ayat: Official Report, 27 May 1965. 7. In an annex to the Malaysia Agreement, Singapore was granted day-to-day control over the programmes to be transmitted by radio and television, and the federal government was apportioned legislative power and "the right to issue any direction necessary" to ensure the implementation of the overall policy of the federal government. This proved to be an area of persistent controversy during merger, with KL threatening more than once to take over television and broadcasting in Singapore. 8. Malaysia Parliamentary Debates, Dewan Ra'ayat: Official Report, 31 May 1965. 9. The political cracks along racial lines would reveal themselves at the height of the Sino-Malay riots in KL in May 1969, triggered by the results of the general elections that handed gains to the Chinese-based opposition parties and saw the Alliance suffer its worst defeat since independence. See, for example, K.J. Ratnam and R.S. Milne, "The 1969 Parliamentary Election in West Malaysia", *Pacific Affairs* 43, no. 2 (1970). 10. Sound recording of Culture Minister S. Rajaratnam's speech on "Concept and Implementation of a Malaysian Malaysia" at a forum organised by the Democratic Socialist Club, University of Singapore, 7 June 1965, NAS. 11. Tunku Abdul Rahman, *Looking Back: Monday Musings and Memories* (Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1977). 12. *Time*, 12 April 1963. 13. G.A. Jockel, "Notes on Visit to Kuala Lumpur and Singapore", Department of External Affairs paper, Canberra, 28 May 1965. Documents on Australian Foreign Policy, Volume 25: Australia and the Formation of Malaysia, 1961–1966. 14. Interview

with Abdullah Ahmad, 7 August 2008. 15. Interview with Khir Johari, 2 September 2005. 16. Interview with Tan Chee Khoo, OHC, NAS. 17. Interview with Yap Chin Kwee, 4 September 2005. 18. Telegram from Head to CRO, 4 June 1965. 19. Speech by Dr Toh Chin Chye, deputy prime minister and chairman of the Malaysia Solidarity Convention, National Theatre, 6 June 1965, NAS. 20. Draft resolution of the MSC, stamped for filing on 7 June 1965, Malaysia Solidarity National Convention, PM 002/65, PMO Collection, NAS. 21. *The Straits Times*, 12 June 1965. 22. Speech by S. Rajaratnam at the fifth anniversary celebration of Kampong Glam Community Centre, 12 June 1965. 23. Record of conversation between Lee Kuan Yew and Pritchett, Singapore, 21 July 1965. 24. Cablegram from Critchley to Canberra, Kuala Lumpur, 10 June 1965. 25. Submission from Jockel to Hasluck, Canberra, 11 June 1965. 26. Harold Wilson, *The Labour Government, 1964–1970: A Personal Record* (London, 1971). 27. S. Rajaratnam, “Who Really Lost in Hong Lim”, *Petir*, September 1965. The article was written before Separation, in late July, but was published only in the September issue of *Petir*. 28. *The Straits Times*, 8 July 1965. 29. *The Straits Times*, 9 July 1965. 30. See *Utusan Melayu*, 24 May 1965. It reported an UMNO meeting in which Albar roused the crowd to a point where, amidst cries of “crush Lee”, several voices shouted “Arrest Lee and preserve him like entrails in pickle.” According to the report, Albar then smiled and urged them to “shout louder!” so that everyone could hear the people’s anger. 31. Tunku Abdul Rahman, “Looking Back”, *The Star*, 7 April 1975. 32. Transcript of press conference held in DPM Toh Chin Chye’s office, 8 July 1965. Alex Josey private papers, ISEAS. 33. *The Straits Times*, 10 July 1965. 34. *The Straits Times*, 14 July 1965. 35. Record of conversation between Lee Kuan Yew and Pritchett, Singapore, 21 July 1965. 36. Stephen Dorril, *M16: Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty’s Secret Intelligence Service* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002). 37. Lee and Raja spurned the overtures by Marshall, who went on to form the Singapore Socialist Party in 1954. Irene Ng, *The Singapore Lion: A Biography of S. Rajaratnam* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010). 38. Legislative Assembly debate, 30 January 1962. 39. Interview with Alex Josey, OHC, NAS. 40. *The Straits Budget*, 21 July 1965. The PAP, which had previously lost the seat twice in a row, won with 60 per cent of the vote in 1965. 41. Interview with Lee Khoo Choy, OHC, NAS. 42. Interview with Eddie Barker, OHC, NAS. 43. Goh was reportedly being treated for gall bladder trouble in a sanatorium at Bad Kissingen in North Germany. 44. Interview with Goh Keng Swee, OHC, NAS. 45. Tunku Abdul Rahman, *Challenging Times* (Pelanduk, 1986). 46. Interview with Tunku Abdul Rahman in the documentary *The 9th of August*, broadcast on 18 June 2002. Transcript of the documentary from author’s collection of Rajaratnam’s private papers. 47. *Ibid.* 48. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.

#### CHAPTER 8: SHATTERED DREAMS

1. Based on Raja’s oral history and this author’s interviews with Lee Kuan Yew. It should be noted that Othman Wok’s recollection of driving Raja to KL on the fateful day of 7 August 1975 has been cited in the media many times – so many that it has been taken as fact. He had repeated the story to this author as well. Inconveniently, however, it contradicts the accounts of some other PAP leaders that Raja took a flight to KL that morning, as instructed by Lee. They included Goh Keng Swee and Eddie Barker (see their oral histories) – that said, they were, however, not present when Raja arrived at Temasek House. Toh Chin Chye, however, was, and he said that Raja travelled to KL by plane that fateful morning (see, for example, his interview with Melanie Chew, and in the documentary *The 9th of August*, broadcast on 18 June 2002). Lee himself had thought that Raja had flown up as instructed, until alerted to Othman’s account decades later while writing his memoirs. Arguably, the definitive word should go to Raja himself – in his oral history in 1982, he recalled taking a plane to KL. It is possible that Othman might have confused events, as he had driven Raja to KL on other occasions as well. One telling discrepancy in Othman’s account was when he said, in one interview, that they arrived in Temasek House at about 5 p.m., which is not possible given the sequence of events that day. Furthermore, a *Straits Times* report in the immediate aftermath confirmed Raja’s arrival past 8 a.m. that day, and it did not mention Othman arriving with him in the same car. In the absence of another source to confirm Othman’s account of Raja’s mode of travel, I am hewing to the dictum, “if in doubt, leave out”, for the narrative. In the grand scheme of things, it is not a crucial point. 2. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005. 3. *Ibid.* 4. Interview with S. Rajaratnam by Foong Choon Hon, *Dialogues with S Rajaratnam*. 5. *Singapore 25 Years: a Straits Times*



Special, 9 August 1990 (Singapore: Straits Times Press, 1990). 6. Lee. *The Singapore Story: Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew*. 7. Cablegram from Critchley to Canberra, Kuala Lumpur, 16 August 1965, NAS. 8. Tarzie Vittachi, *Emergency, 1958 – The Story of Ceylon Race Riots* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1958). 9. Speech to Singapore Legislative Assembly, 13 December 1960. 10. Cablegram from Critchley to Hasluck, Kuala Lumpur, 9 August 1965, NAS. 11. Interview with Yap Chin Kwee, 4 September 2005. 12. Interview with S. Rajaratnam by Foong Choon Hon, *Dialogues*. 13. Transcript of interview with PM Lee Kuan Yew by foreign correspondents, TV Singapura, 30 August 1965, NAS. 14. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009. 15. Foreword by Lee Kuan Yew in Ng, *The Singapore Lion*. 16. Interview with Lee Khoo Choy, 20 June 2005. 17. Interview with Chen Man Hin, 2 October 2004. 18. Interview by Foong Choon Hon, published in *Shin Min Daily News*, 17 June 1990. 19. Chew, *Leaders of Singapore*. 20. Transcript of press conference by PM Lee Kuan Yew at Broadcasting House, Singapore, 9 August 1965, NAS. 21. Transcript of prime minister's press conference at City Hall, 26 August 1965, NAS. 22. Interview with Rajaratnam by local media after Singapore's separation from Malaysia, 10 August 1965, NAS. 23. The DAP was formally registered six months later, on 18 March 1966, as a political party "irrevocably committed to the ideal of a free, democratic and socialist Malaysia, based on the principles of racial equality, social and economic justice, and founded on the institution of parliamentary democracy". 24. Another who joined Devan from Singapore was Lim Kit Siang, a Johor-born journalist working in the press section of Raja's Culture Ministry. Lim, who started off as Devan's political secretary, became the DAP's secretary-general in 1969. No one could know then that, after the May 1969 general elections in Malaysia, the DAP would emerge as the largest opposition party in Parliament, or that race riots would break out on 13 May following the elections and that Lim would be jailed for 18 months for the riots, although he played no part in them. 25. Interview with Rajaratnam by local media after Singapore's separation from Malaysia, 10 August 1965, NAS. 26. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, OHC, NAS. 27. British deputy high commissioner, Singapore, to CRO, London, 10 August 1965. 28. Ibid. Eddie Barker, in his oral history, later speculated that, if Toh and Rajaratnam did not sign the Separation Agreement, "they'd have to leave the Singapore Cabinet". It is highly unlikely, however, that Lee Kuan Yew ever gave them such an ultimatum on 7 August, given his determination to avoid a Cabinet split, which would confuse the PAP's followers. See Lee, *The Singapore Story*. 29. Lee, *The Singapore Story*. 30. Philip Moore to CRO, 10 August 1965. 31. Cablegram from Pritchett, Australian High Commission, Singapore, to Canberra, 10 August 1965. 32. Cablegram from Pritchett, Australian High Commission, Singapore, to Canberra, 12 August 1965. 33. Interview with Peter Lim, 21 July 2006.

#### CHAPTER 9: DEFYING THE ODDS

1. Speech by Rajaratnam at the first anniversary dinner and dance of the University of Singapore's Democratic Socialist Club, 29 August 1965. 2. Sound recording of interview with Rajaratnam by local media after Singapore's Separation from Malaysia, 10 August 1965, NAS. 3. *The Economist*, 14 August 1965. 4. Subsequently extended over the years by land reclamation to about 724 km<sup>2</sup>. 5. *The Sunday Times*, 23 May 1965. 6. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*. 7. Telegram from Antony Head to CRO, 9 August 1965. 8. Ibid. 9. *Manila Chronicle*, 11 August 1965. 10. Interview with Thomas Abraham, OHC, NAS. 11. National Intelligence Estimate, "Prospects for Malaysia and Singapore", Washington, 16 December 1965, Department of State. This estimate was prepared by the CIA, the intelligence organizations of the Departments of State and Defense, and the NSA. 12. Cablegram from Australian High Commission, Singapore, to Canberra, 11 August 1965. 13. Ibid. 14. Cablegram from the Department of External Affairs, Canberra, to the Australian High Commission, New Delhi, 20 August 1965. 15. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005. 16. Letter from Singapore foreign minister S. Rajaratnam to Dinesh Singh, India's deputy foreign minister, 23 August 1965, MFA Archives. 17. Ibid. 18. Interview with Ananda Perera, 22 March 2009. 19. Raja sent two cables to the UN secretary-general on 2 September. One was to inform U-Thant that Singapore was declared an independent and sovereign state on 9 August by solemn proclamations made by the prime ministers of Singapore and Malaysia, and that the Singapore government accepted the obligations of membership in accordance with the UN Charter. The other was to declare that "the independent and sovereign State of Singapore accepts the conditions contained in the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly



undertakes to fulfil them". 20. Mills referred to the wording in Article 13 of the Separation Agreement, which states that the Singapore government would allow the UK government to continue to maintain the bases within Singapore and to "make such use of these bases and facilities as that Government may consider necessary for the purposes of assisting in the defence of Singapore and Malaysia and for Commonwealth defence and for the preservation of peace in South-East Asia." 21. Telegram from British deputy high commissioner, Singapore, to CRO, 11 August 1965. 22. The Non-Aligned Movement was based on the premise that the new nations of Asia and Africa should band together to form a third, neutral force – the Third World – so as to resist becoming satellites to the Cold War superpowers. 23. Speech by Rajaratnam in Parliament, 16–17 December 1965. 24. Telegram from Australian High Commission, Singapore, to Department of External Affairs, Canberra, 15 August 1965. 25. Gretchen Liu, *The Singapore Foreign Service: The First 40 Years* (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 2005). 26. Telegram from British deputy high commissioner, Singapore, to CRO, 11 August 1965. 27. Interview with Teo Ban Hock, 16 May 2012. 28. *Ibid.* 29. Bloodworth's article, "Sinnathamby Rajaratnam: An Appreciation by Dennis Bloodworth", 5 November 1983. Copy given to this author during an interview with Bloodworth on 12 February 2005. 30. *The Straits Times*, 14 August 1965. 31. Telegram from British Government representative *ad interim*, Singapore, to CRO, 14 August 1965. 32. *The Straits Times*, 15 August 1965. 33. National Intelligence Estimate, "Prospects for Malaysia and Singapore", Washington, 16 December 1965. 34. Speech by Rajaratnam at the luncheon given by the University of Singapore Society, Hotel Singapura, 30 July 1966. 35. Rajaranam's interview with Neville Peterson of the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC), broadcast over Television ABC as well as Television Singapura on 22 August 1965. 36. *Ibid.* 37. Telegram from British Government representative *ad interim*, Singapore, J.V. Rob, to secretary of state for CRO, London, 25 August 1965. 38. Cablegram from Pritchett to Hasluck, Singapore, 17 August 1965. 39. Cablegram from Australian High Commission, KL, to Department of External Affairs, Canberra, 28 August 1965. 40. PM Lee Kuan Yew's press conference held at City Hall, 26 August 1965, NAS. 41. PM Lee Kuan Yew's press conference with foreign press on 30 August 1965, NAS. 42. *Ibid.* 43. *The Straits Times*, 31 August 1965. He was speaking at the first anniversary dinner and dance of the University of Singapore's Democratic Socialist club. 44. S. Rajaratnam's Talk at the Political Study Centre, "Malaysia and the Changing Pattern of World Politics." The four radio talks were presented on 17 and 18 January and then 24 and 25 February 1964, Radio Malaysia, Singapura. 45. *Ibid.* 46. *Ibid.* 47. The Americans offered the Singapore premier \$3.3 million, which he spurned, to cover up a botched CIA operation in 1960 in which a CIA representative was caught trying to buy information from a Singapore intelligence agent. 48. PM Lee Kuan Yew's press conference with foreign press on 30 August 1965. Lee highlighted to the Americans that they were not dealing with Ngo Dinh Diem, the first president of South Vietnam, or Syngman Rhee, the first president of South Korea. Both South Vietnam and South Korea were heavily backed by America in the Vietnam War and Korean War, respectively. For a useful analysis of the episode, see Chan Heng Chee, *Singapore: The Politics of Survival, 1965–1967* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1970); and Daniel Wei Boon Chua, *US-Singapore Relations, 1965–1975: Strategic Non-alignment in the Cold War* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2017). 49. National Intelligence Estimate, Washington, 16 December 1965. 50. Lee Kuan Yew, *From Third World to First: The Singapore Story, 1965–2000* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Editions, 2015). 51. *The Straits Times*, 27 November 1990. 52. *The New York Times*, 8 September 1965. 53. Interview with Rajaratnam at Hong Kong Airport, 16 September 1965, NAS. The question was posed by an American journalist. 54. *The New York Times*, 8 September 1965.

#### CHAPTER 10: WORLD DEBUT

1. *The Straits Times*, 17 September 1965. 2. *Ibid.* 3. Telegram from the British High Commission in Canberra to CRO, 25 August 1965. 4. Telegram from British Government representative *ad interim* J.V. Rob, Singapore, to CRO, 16 August 1965. 5. It would take some skillful diplomacy by Arnold Smith, the Commonwealth secretary-general, to persuade Pakistan to abstain from, rather than object to, Singapore's admission, and for two months to pass before Singapore became the 22nd member of the Commonwealth in October. 6. Cable from New Zealand High Commission, Singapore, to Wellington, 15 September 1965. 7. Letter from S. Rajaratnam to Ramani, 8 September 1965, MFA Archives. 8. *The Straits Times*,

22 September 1965. 9. UN Security Council official records, New York, 20 September 1965. UNSC official records of the 1243<sup>rd</sup> meeting, 20 September 1965. 10. Ibid. 11. When declaring the admission of the Maldives, the president of the 20<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly, Amintore Fanfani, noted that “the representatives of the Maldivian Islands had not yet arrived at the United Nations Headquarters.” See UNGA official records, 20th Session, 1332nd Plenary Meeting, 21 September 1965. 12. Sound recording of interview with S. Rajaratnam’s by Mr N.S. Krishna, 7 April 1966, NAS. 13. *The Straits Times*, 25 September 1965. 14. Mr Rajaratnam’s interview with the BBC on 28 September 1965, BBC Archives. 15. Wire report by the Associated Press published in *The Straits Times*, 25 September 1965. 16. Eight African countries, four Asian countries, and France, Britain, Russia and Yugoslavia. 17. Interview with Mal Goode, American Broadcasting Corporation, recorded in the UN HQ on 21 September 1965, MFA Archives. 18. Ibid. 19. Hochstadt was then Secretary of the PMO (known today as Principal Private Secretary to the PM). 20. Interview with Herman Hochstadt, 13 May 2012. 21. Ibid. 22. Secret telegram from Toh Chin Chye to Lee Kuan Yew, 18 September 1965, Correspondence with United Nations, PMO 074/65, PMO collection, NAS. 23. Interview by Mal Goode, American Broadcasting Corporation, recorded in the UN HQ on 21 September 1965, MFA Archives. 24. Abu Bakar Pawanchee joined the colonial civil service in 1950, and by 1958 had become Singapore’s first Malay permanent secretary for the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. 25. Liu, *The Singapore Foreign Service*. 26. His position in the UN would be left empty and filled only a year later. 27. Abu Bakar Pawanchee served as Permanent Secretary until August 1967, when he chose to retire from the civil service. Not long after, he moved to Kuala Lumpur. 28. Among the officials, Leembruggen was perhaps the only one with diplomatic expertise. Trained in diplomatic service in England in 1954, he had done a stint in the British Foreign Service. Keong and Mun worked in the broadcasting division of the culture ministry.

#### CHAPTER 11: FACING GIANTS

1. Interview with Herman Hochstadt, 13 May 2012. 2. In 1958, Egypt and Syria formed the United Arab Republic, which Nasser hoped would someday include the entire Arab world. Syria withdrew in 1961, but Egypt continued to be known as the UAR until 1971. 3. He said this when pressing KL to pay greater attention to Afro-Asian countries and their leaders. S. Rajaratnam’s Talk at the Political Study Centre, “Malaysia and the Changing Pattern of World Politics”, date of recording 27 January 1964, NAS. 4. During his years in London from 1935 to 1947, Raja met George Padmore and was inducted into the world of Pan-African struggle. They became close friends. Raja wrote for some of Padmore’s publications. In his book *How Russia Transformed Her Colonial Empire: A Challenge to the Imperialist Powers*, published in 1946, Padmore named Raja as one of the four friends who gave helpful criticisms and suggestions. See Ng, *The Singapore Lion*. 5. Interview with Herman Hochstadt, 13 May 2012. 6. *Shin Min Daily News*, 27 May 1990. 7. Raja was impressed with Tom Mboya’s pragmatic and non-tribalist approach to Kenyan politics, and would be saddened by Mboya’s assassination three years later, in 1969. 8. Reports by DPM Toh Chin Chye on visits to Afro-Asian Countries and Europe, September/November 1965, PM 0025/65, PMO collection, NAS. 9. Interview with Herman Hochstadt, 13 May 2012. 10. Ibid. 11. Obote and Mutesa had formed an uneasy alliance that swept them into power in the 1962 election. When Uganda became independent a year later, the Kingdom of Buganda became a semi-autonomous part of the new Ugandan federation, with Mutesa as non-executive president and Obote as prime minister. Their alliance soon collapsed, and factional infighting became the order of the day. By the time the Singapore mission arrived in 1965, the Ugandan president and prime minister were at each other’s throats. 12. Reports by DPM Toh Chin Chye on visits to Afro-Asian Countries and Europe, September/November 1965, PM 0025/65, PMO collection, NAS. 13. Mutesa was apparently suspected of supporting the anti-Obote forces in the army. See Ogenga Otunnu, *Crisis of Legitimacy and Political Violence in Uganda, 1890 to 1979* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). 14. *The Straits Times*, 8 October 1965. 15. Mun Chor Seng’s notes to his editor accompanying his shots reveal his problems at one point with “sticky” film that jammed in the camera and his efforts to obtain new rolls of film. Notes provided by Mun to this author. 16. Sound recording of a progress report on the Singapore Goodwill Mission’s tour of five East African states (Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and Uganda), recorded by radio producer Keong Siew

Tong in Nairobi, Kenya, 12 October 1965, NAS. 17. On 17 October 1965, President Sukarno inaugurated an international conference against foreign military bases. He claimed that it was the sacred duty of all New Emerging Forces to abolish not only foreign military bases but also “imperialist mental bases” – those who are mentally still influenced by imperialists and convinced that foreign military bases are needed. It was a clear reference to Singapore. 18. Originally 12, but Ethiopia and Morocco could not receive the Singapore delegation because of clashing state visits – of the president of India to Ethiopia, and the president of Tunisia to Morocco. 19. Telegram from Hugh Carless, British embassy in Budapest, to Foreign Office, London, 31 May 1966. Raja visited Hungary as part of a three-week tour of East European countries led by Lee in May 1966. 20. *Daily Express*, 4 November 1965. 21. *The Straits Times*, 5 November 1965. 22. *Daily Express*, 4 November 1965. 23. India made three separate proposals at the meeting that the Soviet Union, Malaysia and Singapore be invited to participate in the Afro-Asian Conference. See statement made by Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs, in the Lok Sabha on 10 November 1965 regarding the postponement of the Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers. 24. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009. 25. Report by S. Rajaratnam on his meeting with Soviet foreign minister A.A. Gromyko in Moscow on 6 November 1965, DPM’s report on visits to Afro-Asian countries, September–November 1965, PM 0025/65, PMO collection, NAS. 26. *The Straits Times*, 18 November 1965. 27. Chan Heng Chee and Obaid ul Haq, eds., *The Prophetic and the Political* (Singapore: Graham Brash, 1987). 28. Paper by the American Embassy in Singapore, 6 August 1968, which was enclosed in a telegram from the Australian Embassy in Singapore to Canberra, 28 August 1968. 29. In his oral history, Abraham said his own motivation in helping Singapore gain international recognition stemmed from his anti-colonial sympathies: “Strictly speaking, it could be argued that the colonial powers withdrew from Singapore on the basis that Singapore was to become a constituent of Malaysia, which had taken over all the responsibilities of the old Malaya. Those arrangements, having broken down, it could be argued that Singapore would revert to its former colonial state. And this I was determined to prevent to the extent that I had the power to do so.” 30. Interview with Thomas Abraham, OHC, NAS. 31. Lee, *From Third World to First*. 32. Letter from Rajaratnam to Ceylon prime minister Dudley Senanayake, 7 December 1965, MFA Archives. 33. *Ceylon Daily News*, 17 November 1965. 34. Speech by S. Rajaratnam, Debate on the Report of Constitutional Commission 1966, Singapore Parliament Report, 16 March 1967. 35. *The Straits Times*, 18 November 1965. 36. S. Ramaswamy, parliamentary secretary to the finance minister, replying on behalf of the finance minister to an oral question by Ho Kah Leong on “Trade between Singapore and African Countries,” Singapore Parliament Report, 14 December 1966. 37. Annual Budget Statement by Finance Minister Lim Kim San, Singapore Parliament Report, 13 December 1965. 38. *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER 12: THE NATIONAL PLEDGE

1. The People’s Defence Force, a part-time and volunteer-based paramilitary defence force, was conceived as a reserve combat unit to supplement the small regular Singapore Army in the defence of Singapore. 2. The initial plan was for schools to hold a mass flag-raising ceremony accompanied by the national anthem, but practical problems intruded – the mass singing of the anthem, to be accompanied by a brass band, required a large field or assembly hall, which many schools lacked. The tight curriculum made it onerous for the flag-raising ceremony to be carried out daily. Hence the idea for a “simple ceremony” with a loyalty pledge to the flag. In a letter dated 20 October 1965, Willie Cheng, MOE’s principal assistant secretary (administration), proposed that the flag-raising ceremony be carried out in classrooms instead, with students saluting the flag. Responding two days later, on 22 October 1965, Kwan Sai Kheong, the acting permanent secretary and director of education, wrote that Ong had suggested, as a compromise, a pledge of two to three lines to be recited in the classroom in place of singing the national anthem. Exchanges cited found in file Flag Raising, Pledges, etc, EDUN C-27-18-072, Ministry of Education collection, NAS. 3. Interview with Ong Pang Boon in Chew, *Leaders of Singapore*. 4. Speech to the Legislative Assembly, 11 November 1959. Toh chaired the committee to design the national flag, but accounts and records available suggest that it was Raja who saw the sensitive process through and provided the meanings behind the symbols. See Ng, *The Singapore Lion*. 5. Speech by Othman Wok, Singapore Parliament Report, 16 December 1965. 6. Speech by S. Rajaratnam, Debate on the Report of Constitutional Commission, Singapore Parliament Report, 16 March

1967. 7. Ibid. 8. Interview with Yap Chin Kwee, 4 September 2005. 9. In a *Straits Times* interview in 1996, Raja said he took “a day or two to play around with the words” and that he used a Corona typewriter to type out the pledge. However, one cannot be sure of the accuracy of his recollection, as by then he had been diagnosed with dementia. 10. Speech by S. Rajaratnam to the University of Singapore Society on 30 July 1966. 11. New Year message by S. Rajaratnam, written on 29 December 1966 for publication on 1 January 1967. S. Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 12. Ibid. 13. *The Straits Times*, 23 November 1959. 14. *The Straits Times*, 10 December 1959. 15. *The Straits Times*, 19 February 1966. 16. Shortly after separation from Malaysia, an advance party of Singapore infantry regiment left for a tour of duty in Sabah. After their departure, Malaysia sent a battalion to replace them and these Malaysian soldiers have been in Singapore since. *The Straits Times*, 17 February 1966. 17. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009. 18. Ibid. 19. Foreword by Lee Kuan Yew in Ng, *The Singapore Lion*. 20. Speech by Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore Parliament Report, 19 August 2009. 21. In Indonesia, for example, Chinese residents were being targeted in mob killings and their shops and properties destroyed in the aftermath of a failed communist coup in late 1965 and into 1966. The country had banned Chinese schools, as well as public expressions of Chinese culture and language, to compel the Chinese to assimilate into its indigenous population. In Malaysia, the screws were also tightening on the local Chinese through the pressure of Malay political, cultural and religious primacy. Malay, already the national language, would be made the sole official language in 1967 – in contrast to Singapore, which gave equal official status to all four major languages: English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil. 22. Transcript of speech by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew at a meeting with school principals, Victoria Theatre, 29 August 1966, NAS. 23. Ibid. 24. *The Straits Times*, 18 March 1966. 25. Ibid. 26. *The Straits Times*, 6 August 1986. 27. *The New Paper*, 8 June 1996. 28. Ibid. 29. Ibid. 30. At the time, Radio Malaya, which was under the department of broadcasting in the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, served both the peninsula and Singapore. 31. Irene Ng, ed., *The Short Stories and Radio Plays of S. Rajaratnam* (Singapore: Epigram Books, 2011). 32. Ibid. 33. Raja’s razor-thin victory was a sore point for his Barisan opponent Tan Jing Quee, who garnered 42.5 per cent of the vote in a three-cornered fight. Tan called for a recount, which revised Raja’s margin from the initial count of more than 100 votes to 220 votes. The final tally was: Raja – 4,313 votes; Tan Jing Quee (Barisan Sosialis) – 4,093; and Harbans Singh (United People’s Party) – 1,224. 34. Sound recording of a talk “A Time of Perils and Hopes for Singapore” by S. Rajaratnam, 15 July 1969, NAS. 35. Interview with Low Yong Nguan, 20 May 2014. 36. Interview with Fong Swee Suan, 4 June 2009. Fong, a founding member of the PAP, quit the party to form the opposition party Barisan Sosialis in 1961. 37. Speech by S. Rajaratnam at the 75th anniversary of the Singapore Ceylon Tamil’s Association, 10 February 1985. 38. The official classification of Indians comprised people of Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Sri Lankan origin, such as Tamils, Malayalees, Punjabis, Bengalis and Sinhalese. 39. Sound recording of Indian Association’s 1967 Ponggal Festival, 14 January 1967, NAS. 40. Ibid. 41. Speech by S. Rajaratnam, Debate on the Report of Constitutional Commission 1966, Singapore Parliament Report, 16 March 1967. 42. *The Straits Times*, 1 January 1967. 43. Speech by S. Rajaratnam at the Foreign Correspondents Association’s luncheon, 10 March 1966.

#### CHAPTER 13: MENDING TIES

1. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, OHC, NAS. 2. Ibid. 3. Interview with Harry Chan, 28 March 2008. 4. Interview with S.R. Nathan, OHC, NAS. 5. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009. 6. Telegram from Arthur de la Mare, Singapore, to the FCO, London, 13 June 1969. He repeated this point in several other telegrams. 7. Speech at the opening of a PAP branch in Tanjong Pagar, 26 June 1966. 8. Telegram from the US Department of State to the Embassy in Malaysia, 29 January 1966. 9. Notes of meeting with Jenő Bacsoni at the MFA, Budapest, Hungary, 24 May 1966, MFA Archives. 10. Richard Donald, “Memorandum of Conversation: Lee Kuan Yew and William Bundy”, 8 March 1966. 11. Information memorandum from the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Bundy) to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Washington, 14 March 1966. 12. *The Straits Times*, 26 March 1966. 13. Singapore’s embassy in Washington was set up a year later, in April 1967. 14. Address by President Lyndon Johnson on nationwide radio and television to the American Alumni Council on 12 July 1966, “Four Essentials for

Peace in Asia”, Department of State Bulletin, 1 August 1966. *The Pentagon Papers*, Gravel Edition, vol. 4 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971) 15. *Ibid.* 16. US Congressional Record – House, 16 June 1966. 17. Lee, *From Third World to First*. 18. Letter from Donald Maitland, Foreign Office, London, to Commonwealth Office, 18 October 1967. 19. In another bit of irony, in March 1968, George Brown resigned as foreign secretary after a fallout with his premier, Harold Wilson. Raja, meanwhile, kept his post for another 15 years and established himself as Lee’s longest-serving lieutenant, retiring only in 1988. 20. *The Sunday Times*, 17 March 1968. 21. S. Rajaratnam’s speech at the luncheon by the University of Singapore Society, Hotel Singapura, 30 July 1966. 22. The exact number of victims of Sook Ching is unknown, but the SCCC estimated that between 50,000 and 100,000 were murdered. 23. Japan had recognised Singapore soon after its independence, and had sent several fact-finding missions to explore greater economic and technical cooperation. The Japanese consulate-general was raised to an embassy on 26 April 1966. 24. Memorandum by Rajaratnam on the Japanese blood debt, 6 June 1966, Cabinet Paper, CP(1966) 282, PMO collection, NAS. 25. Notes of meeting with Japanese foreign minister Etsusaburo Shiina, 24 October, 1966, MFA Archives. 26. *The Straits Times*, 25 October 1966. 27. *Ibid.* 28. *The Straits Times*, 26 October 1966. 29. In his letter, Lee stated plainly that the government’s decision for the settlement was motivated by “practical considerations for our economic development and not by the naive belief that a few million dollars can wipe off painful memories of the grievous harm that was done to thousands of families during the Japanese Occupation”. 30. *The Japan Times*, 25 December 2003. Behind the scenes, Raja tussled with the Japanese over the wordings of the final agreement. Japan proposed calling the pact “an agreement concerning economic cooperation”. Raja, however, opposed it, and suggested naming it “a bilateral agreement for the settlement of issues stemming from incidents that occurred during the war”. When Japan objected, he questioned why it would not agree to the title even though it was readily acknowledging the tragedy in the preamble of the pact. To break the deadlock, he suggested simplifying the title, and calling it a “bilateral agreement”. Japan, however, said there was no precedent for such a title. In the end, the compromise was to name the pact after the signing date. 31. Antara, 4 April 1966. In his first major press conference, on 4 April, Malik said that the Indonesian government would re-evaluate the foreign policies of the previous administration, and that Indonesia would “always keep a door open to a peaceful settlement” on Confrontation. While saying that the Confrontation would continue, Malik also stressed that Indonesia was by nature a peace-loving people and would always be open to a peaceful settlement. 32. Interview with Ridzwan Dzafir, 21 March 2010. 33. *The Straits Times*, 12 April 1966. 34. Transcript of press conference given by the prime minister at the Singapore airport, 11 April 1966, prior to his departure abroad on a two-month tour, NAS. 35. *The Straits Times*, 13 April 1966. 36. *The Straits Times*, 15 April 1966. 37. Eastman hinted to the Tunku that “there might perhaps be some ambiguity in this [Lee’s] statement, and that it might imply a reservation rather than an acceptance”. But the unimpressed Tunku commented tartly that Lee was a clever lawyer and politician, and would have chosen his words deliberately. 38. Information memorandum from the assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern Affairs (Bundy) to secretary of state Dean Rusk, Washington, 14 March 1966. 39. Lee Khoo Choy, *Diplomacy of a Tiny State* (Singapore: World Scientific, 1993). 40. *The Straits Times*, 18 April 1966. 41. *The Straits Times*, 19 April 1966. 42. Cablegram from New Zealand High Commission, Singapore, to Wellington, 20 April 1966. 43. *Ibid.* 44. KL remained angry with Singapore even though Kogam (Komando Ganyang Malaysia, or the Crush Malaysia Command) as well as Malik himself came out to say that Indonesia did not want a breach between Malaysia and Singapore over the recognition issue. 45. Cablegram from New Zealand High Commission, Singapore, to Wellington, 20 April 1966. 46. Wee Kim Wee, who previously worked as the chief correspondent for the American news agency United Press International, was by this time close to Raja. The two men had frequent dealings particularly after 1959 with Raja as the new culture minister. Wee had then just rejoined *The Straits Times*. 47. *The Straits Times*, 6 May 1966. 48. They visited Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania. 49. The bilateral agreement between Malaysia and Indonesia to end Confrontation, called the Bangkok Accord, was signed on 1 June 1966. It was formalised on 12 August. 50. Audio recording of Rajaratnam’s interview by K.N. Krishna, 7 April 1966, NAS. 51. J. Norman Parmer, “Malaysia: Changing a Little to Keep Pace”, *Asian Survey* 7, no. 2, “A Survey of Asia in 1966: Part II” (February 1967). 52. S. Rajaratnam’s speech at the luncheon by the University of Singapore Society, Hotel Singapura, 30 July 1966.

## CHAPTER 14: ODD MAN OUT

1. Interview with S.R. Nathan, 26 September 2005. 2. Ibid. As part of the interview, S.R. Nathan provided the author with a write-up on his recollection of the founding of ASEAN, some of which was published in his own memoirs, *An Unexpected Journey: Path to the Presidency* (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 2011). 3. Ibid. 4. Interview with S.R. Nathan, 26 September 2005. 5. Interview with Dr Sompong Sucharitkul, 26 March 2010. 6. Speech by President S.R. Nathan at the inaugural S. Rajaratnam lecture hosted by the Diplomatic Academy of the MFA, 10 March 2008. 7. Interview with Dr Sompong Sucharitkul, 26 March 2010. 8. Interview with S.R. Nathan, 26 September 2005. 9. *The ASEAN Reader*, compiled by K.S. Sandhu, Sharon Siddique, Chandran Jeshurun, Ananda Rajah, Joseph L.H. Tan, and Pushpa Thambipillai (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1992). 10. In later years, however, Thanat wrote that it was he who broached the idea of forming a regional organisation with Malik at a banquet marking the reconciliation between Indonesia and Malaysia in Bangkok, between 20 May and 1 June 1966. It was first known as the Southeast Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SEAARC). Thanat Khoman, "Reminiscences," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 10, no. 2 (September 1988). 11. Raja was speaking at the nine-nation Second Ministerial Conference on Economic Development in Manila. *The Straits Times*, 28 April 1967 and 30 April 1967. 12. Among them were the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA), formed in 1961 by Malaya, Thailand and the Philippines, and Malphilindo, a loose consultative body formed in 1963 by Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia. 13. Notes of discussion between S. Rajaratnam and Thanat Khoman, Bangkok, 2 May 1967, MFA Archives. 14. Despatch from A. Rumbold to South East Asia Department, Foreign Office, London, 9 May 1967. 15. Ibid. 16. Confidential report on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations by Giles Bullard, charge d'affaires to Mr George Brown, British foreign secretary, London, 15 August 1967. 17. Notes of conversation between Rajaratnam and Anwar Sani, 12 July 1967, MFA Archives. 18. Interview with Lau Teik Soon, 2 September 2012. 19. Interview with Ngiam Tong Dow, 7 July 2010. 20. Interview with S. Dhanabalan, 23 June 2010. 21. Interview with Ngiam Tong Dow, 7 July 2010. 22. The press statement announced that a standing committee would be set up to consider and make proposals for joint development programmes on such subjects as tourism, shipping, fisheries and the promotion of intra-regional trade at the next ministerial meeting in Jakarta. 23. See Fidel Valdez Ramos, "From 'Sports-Shirt' Diplomacy to a Model Rules-Based Organisation", in *The ASEAN Journey: Reflections of ASEAN Leaders and Officials*, by Surin Pitsuwan et al. (Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2017). 24. Interview with Dr Sompong Sucharitkul, 26 March 2010. 25. *The Straits Times*, 9 August 1967. 26. In its 50<sup>th</sup> year, ASEAN was acclaimed as the world's second most successful regional organisation after the European Union. Kishore Mahbubani and Jeffery Sng, *The ASEAN Miracle: A Catalyst for Peace* (Singapore: NUS Press; Ridge Press, 2017). 27. Speech by S. Rajaratnam at the luncheon given by the University of Singapore Society, 30 July 1966. 28. Rajaratnam's note on Singapore's relationship with Indonesia, circulated to embassies on 23 November 1967, MFA Archives. 29. *The Straits Times*, 7 November 1967. 30. *The Straits Times*, 17 November 1967. 31. Ibid. 32. For a vivid account, see John Butler's article, "Indonesia's Chinese," *The Bulletin*, 10 December 1966. It is uncertain how many people were actually killed. One estimate for those killed between October 1965 and March 1966 was about 500,000. See Robert Cribb, ed., *The Indonesian Killings of 1965–1966: Studies from Java and Bali* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, 1990). 33. Telegram from Horace Phillips, British ambassador to Indonesia, Jakarta, to Southeast Asia department, Foreign Office, 14 February 1967. 34. Speech at the luncheon organised by the University of Singapore Society, 30 July 1966. 35. Ibid. 36. Interview with Ngiam Tong Dow, 6 July 2010. 37. Interview with S.R. Nathan, 26 September 2005. 38. Notes of meeting between S. Rajaratnam and Brigadier-General Soenarso, 13 December 1967, Singapore, MFA Archives. 39. Notes of meeting between S. Rajaratnam and Adam Malik, 18 March 1968, Singapore, MFA Archives. 40. Raja seeded the germ of the idea for what would later be dubbed the "minus x" formula, which enables two or more ASEAN states to move ahead in economic liberation on the basis that the other members will follow at a later stage. In time it would become an established working principle in the grouping's economic cooperation schemes. 41. Interview with V.K. Pillay, 1 June 2004. 42. Second reading of the Employment Bill in Parliament, 10 July 1968. 43. S. Rajaratnam's speech to the International Press Institute in Hong Kong, 18 May 1968. 44. Australian High Commission, Singapore, to the Secretary, Department of External Affairs,



Canberra, 11 October 1968. 45. In his speech to the UN in 1969, Raja registered Singapore's support for the Security Council resolution calling for permanent peace in the Middle East based on the "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent (1967) conflict" and the establishment of "secure and recognised" boundaries that were to be agreed on. He laid out the principles for Singapore's position: It believed that "no country, however big or small, should be denied the right to exist; that the fruits of conquest, however achieved, should not be forcibly converted into fruits of war; that peoples who have lived for long as a settled community in a territory should not be made into homeless wanderers." See UNGA 24<sup>th</sup> session official records, 7 October 1969. 46. Notes of Meeting between Rajaratnam and Adam Malik, 18 March 1968, Singapore, MFA Archives.

#### CHAPTER 15: FIRST FOREIGN POLICY CRISIS

1. The 10-storey MacDonald House building in Orchard Road then housed the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank as well as the Australian High Commission and the Japanese Consulate. As the marines had carried out the attack dressed in civilian clothes and had targeted a civilian building, they were sentenced for murder, which carried the death penalty. 2. The Indonesians claimed them as members of the Kommando Korps Operasi (KKO), based in the Riau Islands. 3. *The Straits Times*, 19 October 1968. 4. *Ibid.* 5. Interview with S.R. Nathan, 2 December 2015. 6. Suharto sent a special messenger, Brigadier General Tjokropranolo, to deliver the appeal personally to the Singapore leaders. 7. The Privy Council ruled that they should not be treated as prisoners-of-war under the Geneva Convention. 8. Foreign Office record of an interview between Michael Stewart and Lee Kuan Yew, 27 May 1968, FCO. 9. Cabinet Memorandum from Minister for Foreign Affairs on Condemned Prisoners – Osman bin Haji Mohd Ali and Harun bin Said @Tahir, 1 October 1968, MFA Archives. 10. Undated Cabinet memorandum from Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew written in response to Rajaratnam's memo, MFA Archives. 11. Speech at the opening ceremony of the Rotary district international conference, 16 March 1968. 12. Interview with S.R. Nathan, 27 April 2012. 13. Undated Cabinet memorandum from Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, MFA Archives. 14. Two years after Separation, Singapore UMNO was forced to break its ties with its parent organisation in KL and was renamed Singapore National Malay Organisation party (PKMS). Haji Taff was previously chairman of the now-defunct Singapore UMNO. 15. Transcript of interview by Raj Vasil, January 1969, NAS. 16. *Ibid.* 17. *Ibid.* 18. *Djakakarta*, 17 October 1968. 19. Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) transcript, 23 October 1968. 20. *The Straits Times*, 25 October 1968. 21. *The Eastern Sun*, 25 October 1968. 22. Letter from Rajaratnam to P.S. Raman, 26 October 1968, MFA Archives. 23. *Ibid.* 24. Letters from Goh Keng Swee to Rajaratnam on 28 and 30 October 1968, MFA Archives. 25. Interview with Eddie Teo, 9 June 2020. Teo joined the Security and Intelligence Division (SID) of the defence ministry in 1970, and was the secretary of a Mindef/MFA national security committee jointly chaired by Goh and Raja. 26. Telegram from Arthur de la Mare to the FCO, 2 March 1968. 27. S. Rajaratnam's talk at officers' mess, SAFTI, 8 March 1968. 28. Letter from Rajaratnam to P.S. Raman, 26 October 1968, MFA Archives. 29. Australian High Commission, Singapore, to Canberra, in its report on the main developments in Singapore from 10 October 1968 to 8 November 1968. 30. National Intelligence Estimate, Washington, 31 December 1968, Department of State, NIE 55-68. Prepared by the CIA and the intelligence organisations of the Departments of State, Defence, and the NSA. 31. Notes of conversation of Rajaratnam's meeting with Malik, 16 December 1968, MFA Archives. 32. *Ibid.* 33. As a consequence of the secrecy surrounding the meeting between Raja and Malik in December 1968, the media assumed, wrongly, that the first time Malik met a Singapore leader since the anti-Singapore riots was in February 1969 when he met Rahim Ishak at the airport VIP room in Singapore. See *The Straits Times*, 21 February 1969. 34. *The Straits Times*, 16 April 1969. 35. Letter from Lee Khoo Choy to PM Lee Kuan Yew, 2 December 1970, MFA Archives. 36. Memorandum from Rajaratnam to Lee Kuan Yew, 25 March 1972, MFA Archives. 37. British High Commission, Singapore, to the FCO, 5 July 1973. 38. Notes of conversation of Rajaratnam's meeting with Edwin Cronk, Singapore, 8 June 1973, MFA Archives. 39. In 2014, Indonesia named a corvette warship as KRI Usman-Harun after the two hanged commandos. In response, Singapore cancelled a series of planned inter-military activities, banned the warship from its ports and naval bases, and withdrew its delegation from an international defence meeting. 40. *The Straits Times*, 13 February 2014.

## CHAPTER 16: A WORLD OF HIS OWN

1. Interview with Sanasi Ayakannu, 5 September 2007. Sanasi's job as office attendant included serving refreshments during meetings and cleaning the rooms on the floor, including the minister's office. 2. Interview with S. Vijayaratnam, 7 August 2008. 3. Interview with S. Jothiratnam, 30 February 2006. 4. Interview with Low Yong Nguan, 20 May 2014. 5. Interview with Teo Ban Hock, 9 September 2005. 6. Interview with Law Siew Kheng, 11 December 2015. 7. Transcript of Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew's interview with Seth Mydans of *The New York Times* and *International Herald Tribune*, 1 September 2010. 8. Brief for UK secretary of state for call by S. Rajaratnam in London, 29 October 1969. 9. Interview with Joe Conceicao, 4 May 2012. 10. Interview with Anita Conceicao, 4 May 2012. 11. Speech at the opening of the 15<sup>th</sup> Singapore International Student Salon of Photography, 1977, organised by the Photographic Society of Nanyang University, 30 April 1977. 12. *The Straits Times*, 18 July 1976. 13. *The Straits Times*, 8 July 1960. 14. Interview with Tan Hwa Luck, 10 March 2005. 15. *The Straits Times*, 13 May 1985. 16. Interview with Lee Hsien Loong, 9 May 2014. 17. Speech at the opening of the joint exhibition of paintings by six artists, National Library, 6 May 1970. 18. *Ibid.* 19. Speech at the annual installation dinner of the Lion Club of Singapore Central, 27 June 1981. 20. *Ibid.* 21. In talking about the cult of moneytheism, he condemned not the making of money and the creation of wealth, but the acquisition and spending of moneys in ways that "degrade human character". 22. Chan Heng Chee and Obaid ul Haq eds., *The Prophetic and the Political* (Singapore: Graham Brash, 1987). 23. Interview with Ungku Aziz bin Abdul Hamid, 2 September 2005. 24. The founding father of the Dutch post-war industrialisation programme, Dr Winsemius headed a United Nations team that came to Singapore in 1960 to study what sort of industries could be set up here. He ended up becoming Singapore's consultant for 25 years, and was behind the 10-year development plans. 25. Interview with Albert Winsemius, OHC, NAS. 26. *Ibid.* 27. *Petir*, 31 May 1962. 28. Speech at the International Conference on "The Future of Asia", Mandarin Hotel, 23 August 1983. 29. Speech at the eighth graduation ceremony, Singapore Polytechnic, 29 July 1968.

## CHAPTER 17: LABOUR PANGS

1. *The Straits Times*, 10 February 1968. 2. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009. 3. *The Straits Times*, 30 June 1968, quoting *Asia Magazine*. 4. Talk over Radio and Television Singapura on "How to Beat the Slump", 30 March 1968, NAS. 5. David Bonavia, "Singapore's Dark Horizon", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 23 February 1967. The article concluded that there was little hope for an independent Singapore, and that "the only sensible answer is a fresh accommodation with Malaysia to restore the natural economic relationship". 6. Speech by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew on the motion of thanks for the president's address, 9 May 1968. 7. Speech by S. Rajaratnam at the Dyason Memorial Lecture in Australia, 9 November 1973. 8. Parliamentary debate on the Trade Unions (Amendment) Bill, 17 August 1966. 9. *Ibid.* 10. This famously included the landmark case involving the NTUC-affiliated Public Daily Rated Employees' Union in early 1967. It launched an illegal wildcat strike involving 2,400 workers and threatened to embroil another 14,000 in sympathy strikes. The leaders of the strike, including its president, K. Suppiah – a PAP stalwart – were detained. 11. Just a week before Raja became labour minister, Lee told the NTUC: "I am asking you to lick the labour movement into shape, cutting out restrictive practices which are no longer relevant, and stopping abuse of fringe benefits which leads to lower productivity." He said he would consider it "high treason" if they emulated the 1967 dock workers' strikes in London, which had led to the devaluation of the pound. Lee's words, delivered at the annual NTUC delegates conference on 7 April 1968, were aimed at the old-style unionists. 12. The battle for dominance between the NTUC and SATU was a proxy for the political battle between the communist and non-communist leadership within the PAP. When the pro-communists within the PAP broke away to form Barisan Sosialis in 1961, they took with them most of the leading unionists and formed the Singapore Association of Trade Unions. The remaining non-communist union leaders formed the National Trades Union Congress. Raja had then lent his considerable talent in political propaganda to the NTUC's long-drawn fight against SATU to win the support of workers. 13. Interview with Lee Siew Choh, in Chew, *Leaders of Singapore*. 14. K. Kesavapany and Anitha Devi Pillai, *From Estate to Embassy: Memories of an Ambassador* (Marshall Cavendish, 2019). 15. Interview with Eric Cheong, 28 June 2006. 16. Interview

with Seah Mui Kok, OHC, NAS. 17. Interview with Eric Cheong, 28 June 2006. 18. Sonny Yap, Leong Weng Kam, and Richard Lim, *Men in White* (Singapore: Straits Times Press, 2010). 19. Private notebook of S. Rajaratnam, author's collection. 20. Interview with Teo Ban Hock, 9 September 2005. 21. *The Straits Times*, 6 April 1969. 22. Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations*, 3 vols (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968). Myrdal's 10-year study of poverty in Asia was focused on South Asia and also touched on some Southeast Asian countries. He characterised Asian states as "soft", making reference to their general societal "indiscipline" compared with the Western countries at the beginning of their industrialisation in Europe.

#### CHAPTER 18: HIS SINGAPORE DREAMS

1. The Employment bill sought to repeal and re-enact, with amendments, the Labour Ordinance (1955), the Clerks Employment Ordinance (1957), and the Shop Assistants Employment Ordinance (1957). 2. The clause on retirement gave the Commissioner for Labour the power to review the continued employment of workers aged over 55 and decide each case on individual merit. The intent was to ensure that the inefficient and the unproductive did not indefinitely block job opportunities for younger workers who entered the labour market each year. 3. Interview with Ngiam Tong Dow, 6 July 2010. 4. *Ibid.* 5. *The Straits Times*, 7 September 1968. 6. Budget debate, Singapore Parliament, 16 December 1968. 7. Budget debate, Singapore Parliament, 20 March 1970. 8. Interview with Wong Lam Wo, 1 June 2005. 9. *Ibid.* 10. Speech at dinner and dance of the Siglap Women's Association, Hyatt Hotel, 12 August 1973. 11. The exhibition was organised by the grassroots of Kampong Glam, Nee Soon and Crawford constituencies, with Raja as patron. 12. This was probably because the projects required capital in the region of between \$10 million and \$15 million. The Golden Mile strip of mixed-use buildings was completed in the 1970s. 13. *The Straits Times*, 24 May 1968. 14. *The Straits Times*, 15 September 1968. 15. Speech at the NTUC Delegates' Seminar on "Modernisation of the Labour Movement", 17 November 1969. 16. The three top leaders spoke on separate days over the four-day NTUC modernisation seminar from 16 to 19 November 1969. Lee made the opening speech on 16 November; Raja spoke on the second day, 17 November, and Goh on the following day, 18 November. 17. See for example his column in the *Singapore Standard* on 30 March 1951, in which he called on the unions to grow out of the wage-bargaining stage and pursue a new objective so as to ensure the conditions that would make increased wages possible. He wrote: "For example, they must increase the country's economic productivity and ensure conditions of full employment. They cannot reasonably expect to get more wages if there is unemployment or if the total national wealth has not increased." Workers interests, he argued, were fully safeguarded only by changing or repairing the economic system with a view to making it more efficient and more productive, and trade unions thus needed to take part in political, social and economic activities. 18. Interview with K.T. Samuel, OHC, NAS. 19. Speech at NTUC May Day Rally, 1 May 1970. 20. Speech by Defence Minister Goh Keng Swee at the conference on business opportunities in South East Asia organised by the *Financial Times* in London, 21 November 1972. 21. Annex to a despatched report, "Singapore's New Deal for Labour", 18 October 1968, prepared by Arthur de la Mare, British high commissioner for Singapore, and addressed to Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart, FCO. 22. *Ibid.* 23. *The Times*, 5 August 1968. 24. The riots broke out in the wake of the general election that took place three days earlier. The Chinese-majority opposition Democratic Action Party (DAP) and the Gerakan, another non-communal party, had made gains at the expense of the ruling coalition, the UMNO-led Alliance Party. This was interpreted by the Malay ultras, who had long preached the doctrine of Malaysia for the Malays, as a threat to the future of Malay rule. See for example Donald L. Horowitz, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot* (University of California Press, 2003). 25. National Intelligence Survey "Singapore", CIA and the Defence Intelligence Agency, May 1973. 26. Speech at NTUC May Day Rally, 1 May 1969. 27. *Singapore Herald*, 15 August 1970. 28. Speech at the annual general meeting of the Singapore International Chamber of Commerce, 28 March 1969. 29. Speech by S.Rajaratnam at the Second Public Service International Asian Regional Conference, Singapore, 14 November 1968. 30. Interview with Jon Quah, 17 July 2023. 31. Speech at the annual dinner of the Singapore Employers' Federation, 22 May 1969. 32. Speech at dinner and dance of the Siglap Women's Association, 12 August 1973. 33. Sound recording of a talk titled "A Time of Perils and Hopes for Singapore", Radio Television Singapore Corporation, 15 July 1969. 34. *The Straits Times*, 2 February 1969. 35. Speech at the opening of the 6<sup>th</sup> Asian Advertising Congress, the Singapore Conference Hall, 1 July

1968. 36. *The Straits Times*, 1 August 1969. 37. *The Straits Times*, 1 September 1968. 38. Speech at the inauguration of a seminar on quality control, Asian Productivity Organisation, 16 June 1970. 39. "The Impact of Development: Progress for People through Industrial Revolution – Singapore", International Monetary Fund, External Relations Department, September 1970. 40. Speech at NTUC May Day Rally, 1 May 1970. 41. *The Straits Times*, 25 August 1972. 42. Interview with Chia Cheong Fook, OHC, NAS.

#### CHAPTER 19: BLACK OPS

1. New Year message from S. Rajaratnam, the minister of foreign affairs and labour, issued 31 December 1970. 2. Speech at a Founder's Day reunion dinner, Christian Brothers' Old Boys Association, 15 May 1971. 3. Ibid. 4. Speech at the United Nations General Assembly, 11 October 1971. 5. Speech to the Singapore Institute of International Affairs, 3 January 1972. 6. Ibid. 7. Speech at the PAP Congress, 19 December 1971. 8. See Ng, *The Singapore Lion*, and Chin Peng, *Chin Peng: My Side of the Story* (Singapore: Media Masters, 2003). 9. Speech at the "Trends in Singapore" seminar, University of Singapore's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 24 November 1974. 10. Raja's speech was quoted by Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi in her inaugural address to the 62<sup>nd</sup> session of the Indian Science Congress in New Delhi on 3 January 1975. Indira Gandhi, *Indira Gandhi: Selected Speeches and Writings 1972 to 1977* (Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India). 11. Under the New Economic Policy (NEP), the *bumiputeras* were given generous quotas in university entrance, almost total exclusivity to civil service jobs, and preferential treatment in almost everything from housing to business. 12. British High Commission, Singapore, to FCO, 17 March 1971. 13. National Intelligence Survey "Singapore", May 1973, CIA and Defence Intelligence Agency. 14. See Wang Gungwu and Ong Wei Chong, eds., *Voice of Malayan Revolution: The CPM Radio War against Singapore and Malaysia, 1969–1981* (Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2009). 15. Record of meeting between the British foreign and Commonwealth secretary Michael Stewart and S. Rajaratnam at the House of Commons, 29 October 1969. 16. British High Commission, Singapore, to FCO, 17 March 1971. 17. Memorandum from Australian High Commission, Singapore, to the Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs, Canberra, 4 June 1971. 18. British High Commission, Singapore, to FCO, 31 December 1971. 19. Lee Kuan Yew's speech at the Fullerton Square rally, 29 August 1972. 20. *The Singapore Herald*, 26 April 1971. 21. The ISA permitted detention without trial for up to 30 days. Detainees can be held for another two years under an order from the minister for home affairs. 22. Singapore government statement, 22 May 1971, NAS. 23. "The Literary Revolution", *Petir*, March 1965. 24. *The Straits Times*, 12 May 1971.

#### CHAPTER 20: AGILE PAWN

1. In mid-1968, Aw Kow attempted to sponsor the entry of the Chinese operator into Singapore, but was thwarted by the authorities. 2. Singapore Government Statement, 15 May 1971, NAS. The statement noted: "Several outside forces, for different objectives, and working independently of one another, have sought to capture and manipulate the local mass media, as one of the most effective ways of influencing public opinion and creating political situations favourable to their interests." 3. Speech at a Founder's Day reunion dinner, Christian Brothers' Old Boys Association, 15 May 1971. 4. Ibid. 5. Interview with William Lim, 23 September 2014. 6. *The Straits Times*, 19 May 1971. 7. Interview with Tay Kheng Soon, 20 September 2014. 8. Ibid. 9. Speech at the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration of the Singapore Ceylon Tamils' Association, 10 February 1985. 10. Ibid. 11. A.G.D. White, First Secretary, Australian High Commission, Singapore, to the Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs, Canberra, 4 June 1971. 12. Brief for call by Singapore foreign minister on secretary of state, 24 September 1971, submitted by J.K. Hickman, head of South West Pacific Department, FCO, on 22 September 1971. 13. Shamsuddin's arrest, noted *The Straits Times* on 27 December 1976, "must serve as a stern warning to those who may wish to play on chauvinist emotions that the government means what it says". 14. *Singapore Herald*, 19 May 1971. 15. Transcript of prime minister's press conference on the *Singapore Herald*, 19 May 1971, NAS. 16. Interview with Ambrose Khaw, 1 June 2008. 17. Notes of conversation with Sir Percival Griffith, Advisor in Political and Economic Matters for Inchcape & Co

(UK), 21 May 1971, MFA Archives. 18. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009. 19. Constance Mary Turnbull, *Dateline Singapore: 150 Years of the Straits Times* (Singapore Press Holdings, 1995). 20. David Rockefeller was regularly briefed on covert intelligence operations by the CIA. Documents released by the US Department of State show that David Rockefeller was involved in several high-level meetings related to American intelligence work. Among them was a note relating to a 31 March 1975 meeting with secretary of state Henry Kissinger that involved Rockefeller, Dean Rusk, Cyrus Vance, McGeorge Bundy, George Shultz, Douglas Dillon, W. Averell Harriman and Robert McNamara, among others, to discuss the role of intelligence in the conduct of American policy. Source: *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976*, vol. 38, part 1, *Foundations of Foreign Policy, 1973–1976*. 21. *The New York Times*, 26 December 1977. 22. Lee Kuan Yew, “Address to the General Assembly of the International Press Institute at Helsinki, Wednesday, 9th June, 1971”, NAS. 23. Speech at a dinner by the Foreign Correspondents’ Association of Southeast Asia, 17 June 1986. 24. See Rajaratnam’s essay, “An Epistle to the Synod of the Socialist Orthodox Church”, *Socialism That Works ... The Singapore Way*, edited by C.V. Devan Nair (Federal, 1976).

#### CHAPTER 21: DEEDS OVER WORDS

1. Interview with Peter Lim, OHC, NAS. 2. *Ibid.* 3. Lee Kuan Yew’s speech at a general election rally in Fullerton Square, 29 August 1972. 4. Interview with Leslie Fong, 29 January 2015. 5. Interview with Peter Lim, OHC, NAS. 6. *New Nation*, 10 October 1974. George Thomson, a Scotsman, arrived in Singapore in 1945. When the PAP came to power in 1959, he was made the first director of the Political Study Centre, and subsequently held key positions in various ministries. 7. Interview with Ambrose Khaw, 1 June 2008. 8. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009. 9. Speech on Asian values and modernisation, 15 November 1975. 10. *Ibid.* 11. The key features of the NPPA include: Ownership of newspapers is to be in Singaporean hands; all directors have to be Singapore citizens; no single shareholder can own more than 5 per cent of the company; newspaper companies are required to create 1 per cent of their shares as management shares, to be held by parties approved by the minister; newspaper companies are prohibited from receiving funding from foreigners or foreign sources without government approval. 12. Cheong Yip Seng in *A Tribute to a Founding Father of Modern Singapore*, published by the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in 2006. 13. Interview with Leslie Fong, 29 January 2015. 14. Cheong Yip Seng, *OB Markers: My Straits Times Story* (Singapore: Straits Times Press, 2013). 15. Speech at the 24<sup>th</sup> anniversary dinner of the Malay Journalists Association, 24 February 1979. 16. *Ibid.* 17. Interview with Ee Boon Lee, OHC, NAS. 18. Interview with Leslie Fong, 3 April 2021. 19. *The Straits Times*, 1 September 1972. 20. *Ibid.* 21. New Year message from the minister for foreign affairs and labour, issued 31 December 1970. 22. Sound recording of a university forum at the University of Singapore, 29 May 1969, NAS. 23. Sound recording of the question-and-answer session after the talk on “A Time of Perils and Hopes for Singapore”, recorded on 15 July 1969, NAS. 24. *Ibid.* 25. Speech at the annual dinner of the Kesatuan Akademik University Singapura (Academic Staff Association of the University of Singapore), Singapore Government press statement, 20 August 1973. 26. Speech at the National Day celebrations of Kampong Glam constituency, 14 August 1971. 27. *The Straits Times*, 23 December 1971. 28. *The Straits Times*, 9 August 1971. 29. Speech by S. Rajaratnam at the forum on “Theories and Practices of Parliamentary Democracy” organised by the National University of Singapore Society, 22 December 1986.

#### CHAPTER 22: GLOBAL CITY

1. The Cockpit Hotel, which was in Oxley Rise, is now defunct. 2. See Michael Leifer’s *Singapore’s Foreign Policy: Coping with Vulnerability* (London: Routledge, 2000). 3. Other books by Toynbee that Raja had read and kept in his library included *A Study of History* (1934–61), *An Historian’s Approach to Religion* (1956), *Between Oxus and Jumna* (1961), and *Change and Habit: The Challenge of Our Time* (1966). 4. See, for example, *The Straits Times*, 8 February 1972, and *New Nation*, 8 February 1972. 5. Speech at the Commandant’s Evening at the Singapore Command and Staff College, 3 March 1992. 6. *The Straits Times*, 3 January 1972. 7. *Sunday Nation*, 10 August 1975. 8. Telegram from the New Zealand High Commission in KL to Wellington,

29 November 1971. 9. MFA Budget Debate, Singapore Parliamentary Debates: Official Report, 17 March 1972. 10. UNCLOS is the most comprehensive and unified codification of the Law of the Sea. It entered into force in 1994. See S. Jayakumar, "UNCLOS – Two Decades On" (speech reprinted), *Singapore Year Book of International Law* 9 (2005). 11. Speech to the Asia Society, New York, 27 September 1973. 12. Speech at the International Press Institute in Hong Kong, 18 May 1970. 13. See Michael Leifer, *Singapore's Foreign Policy: Coping with Vulnerability* (London: Routledge, 2000). 14. Prime Minister's eve of National Day message, 1972, NAS. 15. Speech by Dr Goh Keng Swee, minister of defence, at the Symposium on "Singapore in the International Economy" at the University of Singapore, 19 March 1972. 16. For example, the phrase "global city" appeared in the speeches of labour minister Ong Pang Boon in August 1973 and finance minister Hon Sui Sen in October 1973. 17. US Embassy, Singapore, to secretary of state, Washington, 25 July 1973. 18. Interview with Mano Sabnani, 3 April 2021. 19. Interview with Janadas Devan, 17 January 2022. 20. Interview with Guntor Sadali, 2 September 2014. 21. *The Straits Times*, 27 August 1972. 22. Records of the FCO. Notes of Singapore political scene and personalities, S Rajaratnam, for the visit of William Rodgers, 21 to 23 May 1974. 23. Sentosa II connected Singapore to the satellite in the Pacific. Sentosa I connected the country to the Indian Ocean Satellite. Together, both satellites cover about two-thirds of the earth's surface. 24. RTS later became the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation, and then MediaCorp. 25. Speech at seminar organised by the International Press Institute in Bangkok, 14 October 1968. 26. Speech at the Commandant's Evening at the Singapore Command and Staff college, 3 March 1992. 27. Telegram from Arthur de la Mare to Mr Thomson, 20 May 1968, quoted in William Roger Louis and S.R. Ashton, *East of Suez and the Commonwealth 1964–1971* (The Stationery Office, 2004). 28. Speech on "Politics of the Global City" at the seminar on "Political and Economic Trends in Singapore", 14 December 1975.

#### CHAPTER 23: PURSUING ORDER

1. Despatch from Arthur de la Mare, British embassy, Bangkok, to FCO, London, 18 April 1973. 2. *Ibid.* 3. Cable from New Zealand High Commission, Singapore, to Wellington, 26 April 1973. 4. *Ibid.* 5. Conversation with John O'Neill, American charge d'affaires, Singapore, 20 June 1972, MFA Archives. 6. *Belfast Telegraph*, 14 March 1977. 7. The high-level conference, organised by the ASEAN-EEC Joint Study Group with the Bank of International Corporation, brought together government officials and private businessmen of the two regions, and aimed to make European industrialists more aware of investment opportunities in Singapore and other ASEAN countries. The ASEAN-EC relationship can be traced to 1972 with the establishment of the Special Coordination Committee of ASEAN for liaison with the EC. The catalyst was British admission to the EC, which sparked concern that ASEAN would lose its preferential status in British markets derived from Malaysia's and Singapore's membership in the Commonwealth. 8. Besides Raja, the other four ASEAN ministers were Mohammed Sadli, Indonesia's minister for mining; Hamzah Abu Samah, Malaysia's minister for trade and industry; Suthee Natvarat, Thailand's minister of commerce; and Vicente Paterno, the Philippines' secretary of industry. 9. Speech by S. Rajaratnam, minister for foreign affairs, at the ASEAN-EEC Conference on Industrial Cooperation, Brussels, 4 April 1977. 10. Speech by S. Rajaratnam at a dinner given in honour of Hans Dietrich Genscher, minister for foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, 28 April 1977. 11. *Indonesian News and Views*, Information Division, Embassy of Indonesia, Washington, 1978. 12. *Ibid.* 13. *The Straits Times*, 8 March 1980. 14. Interview with Ahmad Rithauddeen, 3 September 2005. 15. *Ibid.* 16. A.M. Simons, South-East Asia Department, FCO, to Lord Goronwy-Roberts, 21 September 1978. 17. Telegram from Department of State, US, to missions in ASEAN capitals, 11 August 1978. 18. The Five Power Defence Arrangements linked Britain, Australia and New Zealand to the security of Malaysia and Singapore. 19. As the Dyason Lecturer in 1973, Raja addressed audiences in Perth on 9 November, Sydney on 12 November, Melbourne on 13 November, Adelaide on 14 November, and Canberra on 15 November. The talks were organised by the Australian Institute of International Affairs. 20. "Dyason Memorial Lectures 1973, Part II: South-East Asia in Transition", *The Australian Outlook* (The Australian Institute of International Affairs, December 1973), ISEAS collection. 21. American embassy, Singapore, to secretary of state, Washington, 17 November 1973. 22. E.B. Wheeler, British High Commission, Wellington, New Zealand, to W.K. Slatcher, FCO, London, 28 November 1973. 23. *Ibid.* 24. From 1971, a residual force of Australian, New Zealand



and UK troops with a strength of around 7,000 remained in Singapore under bilateral arrangements. However, Australia pulled out its infantry battalions in 1974, the remaining British troops left in 1976 and New Zealand withdrew its last battalion in 1989. 25. The war, which began on 6 October 1973, is known to Israelis as the Yom Kippur War, and to Arabs as the October War. 26. *New Nation*, 1 February 1974. 27. *The Interdependent* 3, no. 10 (November 1976). 28. J.G. Wallace, British commissioner to FCO, 12 October 1976. 29. Brief for UK secretary of state with biographical note on Rajaratnam, 24 September 1971, The National Archives, UK. 30. *Ibid.* 31. Memorandum of Conversation, New York, 1 October 1977, Department of State, Office of the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, 1976–78. 32. Interview with Joe Conceicao, 4 May 2012. 33. Interview with Vijayaratnam Seevaratnam, 4 September 2005. 34. Kathleen Teltsch, “Economic Complaints by Third World Highlight Opening Debate in General Assembly”, *The New York Times*, 17 October 1977. 35. Naeem Mohaiemen, “Two Meetings and a Funeral”, three-channel video, 88 mins, 2017, available courtesy of the artist at <https://vimeo.com/291965560> (password: “pivot-point”). See also Naeem Mohaiemen, “The Shortest Speech”, lecture at MACBA (Museu d’Art Contemporani de Barcelona), Barcelona, 15 May 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fkrDfpIMMD4>. 36. Speech at the 34<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, 24 September 1979. NAS. 37. *New York Post*, 29 September 1979. 38. Notes of conversation between S. Rajaratnam and Morocco’s special envoy Mohamed Saadani on 6 August 1973, MFA Archives. 39. Notes of meeting, MFA Archives. 40. Speech at the 33<sup>rd</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, 29 September 1978. NAS.

#### CHAPTER 24: BEING MARCO POLO

1. The four members of Raja’s delegation were MFA senior minister of state Lee Khoo Choy; MFA desk officer Joseph Koh, secretary to the mission; Howe Yoon Chong, chairman of the Port of Singapore Authority and the Development Bank of Singapore; and I.F. Tang, deputy chairman of the Economic Development Board. 2. *The Straits Times*, 14 November 1973. 3. Oral answers to questions, Singapore Parliament, Official Report, 3 December 1968. 4. Later newspaper reports erroneously spelt it as Berkeley Hotel. 5. Notes of conversation between foreign minister Rajaratnam and deputy foreign minister of China, Chiao Kuan-hua, at a dinner hosted by minister on 7 October 1974, Barclay Hotel, New York, MFA Archives. 6. The Singapore-Soviet Shipping Company (Sociac), incorporated in 1968, had two Russians on the board. Shortly afterwards, a former Singapore journalist, Lim Beng Tee, set up the Tri-Union company with himself as managing director. A contract was signed with the shipping company to handle their stevedoring in Singapore. Lim was soon able to buy a \$50,000 apartment and ride around in a chauffeur-driven Mercedes. On 7 August 1973, Lim was arrested without trial under the Internal Security Act. A police statement said he “was acting in the interests of foreign intelligence organisations through their business enterprise here”. The Russian connection was not mentioned in public. 7. Interview with Tommy Koh, 20 March 2018. 8. *The Straits Times*, 12 March 1975. 9. Notes of first meeting between Rajaratnam and Chiao Kuan-hua, 14 March 1975, at the Great Hall of the People, MFA Archives. 10. Interview with S. Rajaratnam by Foong Choon Hon, *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*. 11. Notes of second meeting between Rajaratnam and Chiao Kuan-hua, 15 March 1975, at the Great Hall of the People, MFA Archives. 12. Telegram from Holdridge, US embassy in Singapore, to Washington, 11 February 1976. 13. *Ibid.* 14. S. Rajaratnam’s assessment of his China trip addressed to PM Lee, 29 March 1975, MFA Archives. 15. *Ibid.* 16. They were Han Nian Lung, vice foreign minister; Cheng Jui-Sheng, deputy director, Asian Affairs Department; Liew Hua, deputy director, protocol department; and Madam Chang Han Chih, deputy director, Asian Affairs Department. 17. Chou had led the Chinese delegation to the historic meeting that laid the foundation for the Non-Aligned Movement during the Cold War. 18. He also highlighted Singapore’s non-aligned stance and its hope that China, being close to Southeast Asia, could contribute much towards creating a “more secure and more hopeful world”. 19. See, for example, Hsinhua News Agency’s report headlined “Singapore foreign minister feted in Peking”, 14 March 1975, and the *Peking Review* 18, no. 12, 21 March 1975. 20. Lee Khoo Choy’s notes of meeting with premier Chou En-lai, 29 March 1975, MFA Archives. 21. Summary of Australian prime minister Gough Whitlam’s discussions with premier Chou En-lai, 31 October – 3 November 1973, Woodrow Wilson Center, United States, 2001, Web Archive. 22. Lee Khoo Choy’s notes of meeting with premier Chou En-lai, 29 March 1975, MFA

Archives. 23. *Zhou Enlai Chronicles, 1949–1976* (Beijing: 1997), quoted in article, “A Historical Perspective on Singapore–China Relations: 1965–1975”, by Katherine Enright, *Singapore Policy Journal*, Harvard Kennedy School, 25 October 2019. 24. Lee Khoo Choy’s notes of meeting with Premier Chou En-lai, 29 March 1975, MFA Archives. 25. Notes of meeting by foreign minister on his visit to China to ASEAN heads of missions in Singapore, 9 April 1975. 26. Lee Khoo Choy, notes of meeting with premier Chou En-lai, 29 March 1975, MFA Archives. 27. S. Rajaratnam’s assessment of his China trip addressed to PM Lee, 29 March 1975, MFA Archives. 28. When the UN resolution for the admission of the PRC came up in October 1971, Singapore had voted to admit the PRC in line with its long-held position that the seat “should properly be occupied by the People’s Republic of China”, to use Raja’s words then. He also said: “We also subscribe to the view that there is only one China and that Taiwan is a part of it. We can hold no other view since the Governments of Peking and Taiwan themselves have consistently maintained this view. This being so the status of Taiwan is a domestic matter to be settled by the people of China including those of Taiwan.” Speech by Mr S. Rajaratnam, minister for foreign affairs, the 26<sup>th</sup> Session of the United Nations General Assembly, 11 October 1971. 29. Singapore was represented at the separate trade talks by Howe Yoon Chong, chairman of the Port of Singapore Authority and the Development Bank of Singapore, and I.F. Tang, deputy chairman of the Economic Development Board. They met officials from the Chinese ministry of foreign trade. 30. Notes of MFA political meeting with minister, 3 April 1975, MFA Archives. 31. *Nanyang Siang Pau*, 20 March 1975. 32. *Shin Min Daily News*, 15 April 1990. 33. Notes of MFA political meeting with minister on 3 April 1975, MFA Archives.

#### CHAPTER 25: EBONY AND IVORY

1. *The Straits Times*, 31 March 1975. 2. Interview with Joseph Koh, OHC, NAS. 3. *The Straits Times*, 22 March 1975. 4. Speech at the opening the first Chinese ceramics exhibition organised in Singapore, 3 September 1977. 5. Interview with Joseph Koh, OHC, NAS. 6. *Ibid.* 7. Rajaratnam’s assessment of his China trip addressed to PM Lee, 29 March 1975, MFA Archives. 8. Notes of second meeting between Rajaratnam and Chiao Kuan-hua, 15 March 1975, at the Great Hall of the People, MFA Archives. 9. Interview with Peter Lim, OHC, NAS. 10. *Ibid.* 11. In Canton, Howe Yoon Chong also met his younger sister, while *Nanyang Siang Pau* journalist Ngeow Pak Hua met his elder brother; in Shanghai, *Nanyang Siang Pau* photographer Wang Wei Huan reunited with his uncle. 12. *The Straits Times*, 23 March 1975. 13. Reproduced in *New Nation*, 25 March 1975. 14. Rajaratnam’s assessment of his China trip addressed to PM Lee, 29 March 1975, MFA Archives. 15. *Ibid.* 16. Notes of meeting by foreign minister on his visit to China to ASEAN heads of missions in Singapore, 9 April 1975, MFA Archives. 17. Notes of meeting between minister and Major-General Sunarso, 11 April 1975, MFA Archives. 18. Notes of MFA political meeting with minister, 3 April 1975, MFA Archives. 19. *The Straits Times*, 8 July 1975. 20. *Ibid.* 21. See Ong Wei Chong, *Malaysia’s Defeat of Armed Communism: The Second Emergency, 1968–89* (London: Routledge, 2015). 22. Telegram from the American ambassador to Singapore to John Holdridge, 6 December 1976. 23. Malcolm Macdonald’s notes on talks with Chinese foreign minister, Peking 1975, FCO. 24. Telegram from American Embassy in Singapore to secretary of state, Washington, 29 April 1976. 25. Diplomatic report “Singapore: The Next Phase” from the British high commissioner in Singapore to the secretary of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, 15 July 1976. 26. Lee, *From Third World to First*. 27. Interview with S. Rajaratnam by Foong Choon Hon, *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*. 28. *The Straits Times*, 18 July 1976. *The New Nation*, 22 July 1976. 29. Transcript of interview by Mr Szabo, Hungarian state radio and TV, with Second DPM, 10 June 1983, MFA Archives. 30. *Shin Min Daily News*, 15 April 1990. 31. *The Straits Times*, 1 November 1985.

#### CHAPTER 26: THE KAMPUCHEAN CRISIS

1. The Vietnamese invaded Cambodia on 25 December 1978 and occupied Phnom Penh on 7 January 1979. 2. In April 1975, Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam, fell to the communists, marking the end of the Vietnam War. Vietnam was united again under premier Pham Van Dong. In 1976, Laos signed a peace and friendship treaty with Vietnam, basically placing itself under Vietnamese protection. 3. On 3 November 1978, Hanoi signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. 4. Telegram from US embassy in

Singapore to secretary of state, 21 December 1978. In his despatch, US ambassador Richard Kneip reported on his 90-minute meeting with Raja on 19 December to get his views on Lee's visit to Bangkok, where they had talks with Thai premier Kriangsak Chamaman. Kneip said Raja spent most of the time talking about how to deal with Vietnam. 5. Conversation with foreign minister Upadit Pachariyangkun, 9 January 1979, "Security and Stability in Asia: 1979", submitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs by the special study mission conducted by Lester L. Wolff, chairman of the subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, 28 December 1978 – 13 January 1979, US Government printing office, Washington, May 1979. 6. Ibid. 7. Telegram from US embassy in Singapore to secretary of state, 21 December 1978. 8. Between 11 and 15 January 1979, the UN Security Council convened in New York at the request of Democratic Kampuchea. China tabled a draft resolution condemning the invasion and demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea, which was vetoed by the Soviet Union. Although the resolution was not adopted because of the Soviet veto, the debate was clearly a setback for the Vietnamese, mustering support only from the Soviet bloc and Cuba. 9. Mochtar's account to the US ambassador to Indonesia, Edward Masters, 17 January 1979, reported in the telegram from US embassy, Jakarta, to Department of State, 17 January 1979. 10. Interview with Ahmad Rithaudeen, 3 September 2005. 11. *The New York Times*, 4 May 1979. 12. Telegram from secretary of state Cyrus Vance to US mission to the United Nations, New York, 21 January 1979. 13. Telegram from US mission to the United Nations, New York, to Department of State, 24 January 1979. 14. A good analysis of the different threat perceptions can be found in Ang Cheng Guan, *Singapore, ASEAN and the Cambodian Conflict, 1978–1991* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2013); Robert O. Tilman, *The Enemy Beyond: External Threat Perceptions in the Asean Region*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1984); and Donald Weatherbee, ed., *Southeast Asia Divided: The ASEAN-Indochina Crisis* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985). 15. *The New York Times*, 4 May 1979. 16. Raja was alluding to fears that the growing US-China relationship could lead the US to try to limit Soviet expansionism by acquiescing in an arrangement conceding Southeast Asia to China's sphere of influence. 17. Telegram from Richard Kneip, US embassy in Singapore, to Department of State, 7 February 1979. 18. Ibid. 19. Transcript of interview by Hungarian State radio and TV, 10 June 1983, MFA library. 20. Speech at the 12<sup>th</sup> ASEAN ministerial meeting in Bali, 28 June 1979. 21. Statement by Rajaratnam on the armed incursion of Chinese forces into Vietnamese territory, 20 February 1979. 22. Telegram from US delegation in Bali to Department of State, 1 July 1979. 23. Telegram from US delegation in Bali to Department of State, 30 June 1979. 24. Telegram from US embassy in Manila to Department of State, 17 July 1979. 25. Interview with Ahmad Rithaudeen, 3 September 2005. 26. Telegram from US embassy in Bangkok to Department of State, 29 June 1979. 27. Ibid. 28. Ibid. 29. Telegram from US delegation in Bali to Department of State, 1 July 1979. 30. The 2 July 1979 meeting marked the start of regular ASEAN post-ministerial sessions, which consist of a series of meetings. ASEAN foreign ministers first meet the representatives of the dialogue partners together, and then each dialogue partner individually. 31. Raja was referring to the Munich Pact signed in 1938 by Italy, Great Britain and France with Germany that basically sacrificed Czechoslovakia to Hitler in an attempt to appease him and avert war. As a result, Hitler took over Czechoslovakia, went on to Poland, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium and France, and then attacked Britain itself. 32. Interview with Ahmad Rithaudeen, 3 September 2005. 33. While publicly reiterating their policy of refusing first asylum, in practice the ASEAN countries permitted some new arrivals to land and be processed for permanent resettlement in other countries. 34. Gerald Hensley, *Final Approaches: A Memoir* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006). 35. Ibid. 36. *The New York Times*, 16 July 1979. 37. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15 August 1979. 38. Speech by Rajaratnam to the National Press Club of Malaysia at the Lake Club, Kuala Lumpur, 29 June 1980. 39. Interview with Ahmad Rithaudeen, 3 September 2005.

#### CHAPTER 27: CLASH WITH THE TITANS

1. Raul Roa asserted that the heads of state had to decide. He pointed out that several newly established African regimes – "liberation movements" – were holding seats in Havana with no one objecting. 2. Telegram from US embassy in Belgrade to Department of State, 1 September 1979. 3. *New Nation*, 5 September 1979. Excerpts of Raja's interview with CBS on 3 September 1979 were broadcast over Radio Television Singapore News. As the American media formed the largest press contingent in Havana, their reports were more timely

and comprehensive. In contrast, the Singapore press appeared to have only a single reporter at the NAM conference, and had to rely mainly on agency reports. 4. *The New York Times*, 1 September 1979. 5. Interview with S. Dhanabalan, 23 June 2010. 6. *Ibid.* 7. Pranay Gupte, *Mother India: A Political Biography of Indira Gandhi* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2009). According to Gupte, Indira Gandhi was not especially appreciative of Rajaratnam's speech. Nor was she enthusiastic about Fidel Castro's persistent efforts to direct NAM towards Moscow. 8. *Ibid.* 9. The 16 ministers who signed the written protest were from Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Yugoslavia, Pakistan, Senegal, Zambia, Zaire, Niger, Somalia, Gabon, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, the Comoros and North Korea. 10. The MFA team was made up of S. Dhanabalan, senior minister of state for foreign affairs; Tommy Koh, ambassador to the United Nations; Peter Chan, counselor of embassy in Washington; Kishore Mahbubani, counselor of embassy in KL; and Jasudasen, member of Singapore's mission to the UN. 11. Interview with T. Jasudasen, 22 September 2021. 12. *Ibid.* 13. Sound recording of speech by S. Rajaratnam at the 6<sup>th</sup> Non-Aligned Movement summit in Cuba, 7 September 1979, NAS. Most newspaper reports quoted from Raja's prepared text rather than his off-the-cuff speech. 14. Interview with S. Dhanabalan, 23 June 2010. 15. Telegram from US Interests Section (USINT) in Havana to secretary of state, Washington, 8 September 1979. 16. Interview with Kishore Mahbubani, 15 December 2008. 17. *Ibid.* 18. Kishore Mahbubani, "Kishore Mahbubani [Singapore, Diplomat, Dean of Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy]", 2015, pp. 1-9, Digital Narratives of Asia, [https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/isl\\_dna/15](https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/isl_dna/15) 19. Interview with Tommy Koh, 12 June 2006. 20. Interview with S. Dhanabalan, 23 June 2010. 21. Transcript of interview with Yomiuri Shimbun, 16 December 1982, MFA library. 22. *The New York Times*, 7 and 8 September 1979. 23. According to Romulo, "Indonesia had totally collapsed once Castro mentioned Timor". The Philippines was an observer at the NAM summit. Telegram from US mission in New York to Department of State, 2 October 1979. 24. US embassy in Belgrade to Department of State, 21 September 1979. Loncar, who attended the Havana NAM summit, said it had been a "hard uphill fight" to keep the Cubans from manipulating their position as host to reorient the movement toward Moscow. 25. Interview with S. Dhanabalan, 23 June 2010. 26. *Ibid.* 27. Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew's eulogy for S. Rajaratnam, 25 February 2006. Koh, 30, was first posted to the UN in 1968. In 1971 he returned to Singapore to serve as dean of the law faculty at the University of Singapore, and in 1974 he resumed his role as Singapore's permanent representative to the UN. 28. Interview with Tommy Koh, 12 June 2006. 29. *The Washington Post*, 22 September 1979. A key argument was that "the government of Democratic Kampuchea is terrible, but this gives no right under international law for a neighbouring state to invade with armed forces and set up a puppet regime". 30. In 1983, Rajaratnam wrote a 28-page pamphlet titled "Havana and New Delhi: What's the Difference". Released just before the NAM summit in New Delhi that year, it called on NAM members to return to the "true path of non-alignment" and "make the concept relevant to current political and economic problems". It was also circulated at the UN and in some capitals. 31. *The Straits Times*, 14 October 1979. 32. Speech at the Non-Aligned meeting in Belgrade, 27 July 1978. In his speech, Raja urged the Non-Aligned Movement to beware this threat, noting that proxy wars could destroy all the achievements of the movement, and even the movement itself. By 1979 at the UN, he had updated the count: 135 major and minor wars, with almost all involving armies from Third World countries. See his speech to the UN, 24 September 1979. 33. *Ibid.*

#### CHAPTER 28: OWL IN HAWK'S FEATHERS

1. Letter from S. Rajaratnam to Malaysian foreign minister Ahmad Rithauddeen, 26 October 1979. 2. Letter from Malaysian foreign minister Ahmad Rithauddeen to S. Rajaratnam, 9 November 1979. 3. Indonesia's forcible annexation of the eastern half of the island of Timor in December 1975 would be an international running sore for Indonesia over the years, leading to its eventual withdrawal from East Timor in 1999. 4. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, OHC, NAS. 5. *Ibid.* 6. Interview with Ahmad Rithauddeen, 3 September 2005. 7. *Ibid.* 8. *Ibid.* 9. Interview with S.R. Nathan, OHC, NAS. 10. The previous two resolutions were ASEAN-inspired (as opposed to being initiated by ASEAN), and were to the Security Council. They failed because of the Soviet veto. 11. Telegram from US embassy in Jakarta to Department of State, 26 November 1979. 12. Speech by S. Rajaratnam to the University of Singapore Students' Political Association, 23 November 1979. The norm he was referring to was "opposition to foreign intervention,

particularly armed intervention, in the internal affairs of another country on the grounds that the incumbent government is barbarous". 13. Note from A.M. Simons, South East Asian Department, FCO, to UK mission in New York, 21 September 1979. 14. *Melbourne Herald*, 3 December 1979, reproduced in *The Straits Times*, 6 December 1979. 15. *The Straits Times*, 28 June 1979. 16. *The Straits Times*, 12 June 1980. 17. Telegram from US embassy in Jakarta to Department of State, 26 November 1979. 18. *The Straits Times*, 9 August 1983. 19. *Ibid.* 20. Speech to the University of Singapore Students' Political Association, 23 November 1979. 21. Letter from S. Rajaratnam to Tengku Ahmad Rithaudeen, minister of foreign affairs, Kuala Lumpur, 26 November 1979. 22. *Ibid.* 23. Telegram from S. Rajaratnam to Singapore Embassy in Bangkok, 30 November 1980. 24. *The Straits Times*, 14 December 1979. 25. Notes of dinner conversation between minister S Rajaratnam and Indonesian foreign minister Prof Mochtar Kusumaatmadja at the Indonesian Suite, Shangri-La Hotel, Singapore, 12 December 1979. 26. *Ibid.* 27. *Ibid.* 28. Notes on the meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers (closed session), KL, 14 December 1979. 29. *Ibid.* 30. *Ibid.* 31. Interview with Ahmad Rithaudeen, 3 September 2005. 32. Interview with S. Rajaratnam by Chan Heng Chee and Obaid ul Haq, 7 December 1985, in *The Prophetic and the Political* (Singapore: Graham Brash, 1987). 33. *Ibid.* 34. Speech to the University of Singapore Students' Political Association at the Bukit Timah campus, 23 November 1979. 35. At a meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights on 15 September 1978, a resolution was submitted requesting that the "highest priority" be given for the setting up of a committee to inquire into reported Khmer Rouge massacres in Cambodia. The voting was 15 in favour and 3 against. Vietnam was one of the three against it. 36. Speech to the University of Singapore Students' Political Association at the Bukit Timah campus, 23 November 1979. 37. Speech at the Asia Society seminar on Singapore, New York, 3 October 1980. 38. *Ibid.* 39. Note from the minister for foreign affairs on the visit of Ieng Sary, deputy prime minister in charge of foreign affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, 7 February 1980. 40. *The Straits Times*, 8 February 1980.

#### CHAPTER 29: RUGGED CRUSADER

1. Speech at a mass rally held in conjunction with the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the People's Action Party at the National Theatre, 20 January 1980. 2. *The Straits Times*, 13 June 1980. 3. The Vietnamese army occupied two Thai villages and two camps housing Kampuchean refugees. While it was not a large-scale invasion, Vietnam's offensive confirmed Thailand's conviction that the threat of a Vietnamese invasion was real and imminent. 4. Telegram titled "Secretary Muskie's Meeting with Singapore's Rajaratnam and Dhanabalan" from secretary of state Muskie's delegation to the Department of State, Kuala Lumpur, 28 June 1980, *FRUS*, 1977-1980, vol. 22, *Southeast Asia and the Pacific*. 5. Memorandum of conversation, "Dr. Brzezinski's Meeting with Foreign Minister Sithi Savetsila of Thailand", Washington, 3 June 1980, *FRUS*, 1977-1980, vol. 22, *Southeast Asia and the Pacific*. 6. Tej Bunnag later became Thai foreign minister in 2008. Robert Yates, *Understanding ASEAN's Role in Asia-Pacific Order* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019). 7. *The Straits Times*, 25 August 1980. 8. Don Oberdorfer, "Dominoes' Close Ranks to Meet Communist Threat", *The Washington Post*, 5 July 1980. 9. Interview with Michael Cheok, 12 June 2006. Raja's trip to the refugee camp was arranged by President Muhammad Zia-il-Haq, who coordinated the Afghan mujahideen against the Soviet occupation throughout the 1980s. 10. *Ibid.* 11. *The Straits Times*, 8 March 1980. 12. Telegram with subject "Secretary's Meeting with ASEAN Foreign Ministers" from the Department of State to the embassies in Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Indonesia, 1 July 1980, *FRUS*, 1977-1980, vol. 22, *Southeast Asia and the Pacific*. 13. *Ibid.* 14. Moulinaka (Mouvement de Liberation Nationale du Kampuchea) was a pro-Sihanouk military group formed in August 1979. 15. Telegram with subject "Secretary Muskie's Meeting with Singapore's Rajaratnam and Dhanabalan" from secretary of state Muskie's delegation to the Department of State, Kuala Lumpur, 28 June 1980. 16. *Ibid.* 17. Speech at the opening ceremony of the International Conference of Regional Security Developments and Stability in Southeast Asia, 26 March 1980. 18. MFA, Singapore, *From Phnom Penh to Kabul* (Singapore, 1980). 19. Barry Desker, *Against All Odds: Singapore's Successful Lobbying on the Cambodia Issue at the United Nations*, Occasional Paper (Singapore: ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, 2016). 20. Speech to the Foreign Correspondents Club of Thailand, Bangkok, Thailand, 11 June 1980. 21. Speech to the National Press Club of Malaysia, Kuala

Lumpur, Malaysia, 29 June 1980. 22. Lee, *From Third World to First*. 23. *Ibid.* 24. Notes of dinner conversation between Minister S. Rajaratnam and Indonesian foreign minister, Prof Mochtar Kusumaatmadja at the Indonesian Suite, Shangri-La Hotel, Singapore, 12 December 1979. 25. Transcript of interview by Szabo, Hungarian state radio and TV, with 2DPM, 10 June 1983, MFA Library. 26. Transcript of interview with Toshio Suzuki, chief correspondent of Asia General, *Yomiuri Shimbum*, 16 December 1982, MFA Library. 27. Speech to the National Press Club of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 29 June 1980. 28. Text of interview with Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew by Derek Davies, editor of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, at the Istana Annexe, 22 September 1980, NAS.

#### CHAPTER 30: HANDING OVER

1. Interview with S. Dhanabalan, 23 June 2010. 2. *Ibid.* 3. Speech at the Democratic Socialist Club, University of Singapore, 12 June 1967. 4. PAP 15th Anniversary celebration souvenir, People's Action Party, 1969. 5. Interview with Ng Thim Wah, 23 July 2014. 6. *The Straits Times*, 7 January 1980. 7. Among other measures, ICAP limited the capacity of foreign airlines on routes between Australia and Europe. It allowed only Qantas and British Airways to carry passengers point-to-point between Australia and Britain on cheap fares, cut the frequency of Singapore Airlines flights on the lucrative "Kangaroo route" between Australia and Britain, and discouraged stopovers by passengers en route by imposing a high surcharge. Compared with other airlines in the region, Singapore Airlines was the most affected by the policy. 8. He had written an earlier letter to Peacock on the matter on 8 December 1978, which was widely publicised in the Singapore media. 9. Singapore Parliamentary Debates: Official Report, 5 March 1979. 10. *Ibid.* 11. Interview with S. Dhanabalan, 23 June 2010. 12. *Ibid.* 13. *Ibid.* 14. Telegram from US Embassy in Singapore to Washington, 6 October 1979. 15. Speech at the Anglo-Chinese Junior College Pre-U seminar, Jurong Town Hall, 1 June 1978. 16. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, OHC, NAS. 17. Liu, *The Singapore Foreign Service*. 18. Interview with Tan Siok Sun, OHC, NAS. 19. Interview with S.R. Nathan, 2 December 2015. 20. Interview with Harry Chan, 28 March 2008. 21. *Ibid.* 22. Liu, *The Singapore Foreign Service*. In 1983, Peter Chan became MFA's permanent secretary. 23. Interview with Chia Cheong Fook, OHC, NAS. 24. Transcript of speech by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew at a lunch-time election rally, Fullerton Square, 21 December 1976. 25. Interview with Barry Desker, 15 August 2014. 26. Liu, *The Singapore Foreign Service*. 27. Interview with Kishore Mahbubani, 15 December 2008. 28. *The Straits Times*, 23 February 2006. 29. Low Choon Ming, "Reflections of 33 Years in Diplomacy", in *The Little Red Dot: Reflections by Singapore's Diplomats*, vol. 1, edited by Tommy Koh and Chang Li Lin (Singapore: World Scientific, 2005). 30. His two sons from his first wife (deceased) were in secondary school, while his youngest from his second wife was only six months old. 31. Lee Khoo Choy, *On the Beat to the Hustings* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1988). 32. Liu, *The Singapore Foreign Service*. 33. Lee Khoo Choy, *Diplomacy of a Tiny State* (Singapore: World Scientific, 1993). 34. Interview with S.R. Nathan, OHC, NAS. 35. Liu, *The Singapore Foreign Service*. 36. Interview with S.R. Nathan, 2 December 2015. 37. Interview with S. Dhanabalan, 23 June 2010. 38. *The Straits Times*, 1 June 1980. 39. In 1966, the Barisan Sosialis withdrew from Parliament to protest the "phony independence" of Singapore. Thereafter, the PAP swept every seat at successive elections. 40. For a good contemporary analysis, see Chan Heng Chee, "Singapore in 1981: Planned Changes, Unplanned Consequences", *Asian Survey* 22, no. 2, "A Survey of Asia in 1981: Part II" (February 1982). 41. Transcript of speech by Lee Kuan Yew, PAP secretary-general, at the Party Conference, 15 November 1982, NAS. 42. According to Raja, as of the date of his speech on 26 May 1980, there were over 170,000 Kampuchean in holding centres in Thailand, with a further 200,000 encamped along the Kampuchean-Thai border. There were another estimated 600,000 to 700,000 floating refugees in close proximity to the border. Speech by S. Rajaratnam, minister for foreign affairs, at the international meeting on humanitarian assistance and relief to the Kampuchean people, Geneva, 26 May 1980. 43. Notes of meeting between minister and Madam Leng Thirith, minister of social affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, delegates' lounge of the UN in Geneva, 27 May 1980. 44. Interview with S. Dhanabalan, 23 June 2010. 45. *Ibid.* 46. *The Straits Times*, 26 June 1980.



## CHAPTER 31: HANDLING DYNAMITE

1. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, OHC, NAS. 2. Son Sann served as prime minister in 1967 and 1968 under Sihanouk, who was then head of state. He was placed under house arrest for a period after a US-backed army chief, General Lon Nol, overthrew Sihanouk in 1970. When Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge took over in 1975, Son Sann was living in Paris, where he became a prominent organiser of opposition to the radical communists. In October 1979, after Vietnam drove the Khmer Rouge from power and occupied Kampuchea, he formed the Khmer People's National Liberation Front to fight the Vietnamese Army. 3. Briefing memorandum from the assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs (Holbrooke) to secretary of state Muskie, Washington, 5 November 1980, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977–1980*, vol. 22, *Southeast Asia and the Pacific*. 4. In 1981, Moulinaka joined other small pro-Sihanouk factions to form a new political resistance movement called Funcinpec (United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia). Its armed wing was called the Armie National Sihanoukiste (ANS). 5. Transcript of Rajaratnam's interview by Michael Richardson of *The Melbourne Age*, 23 December 1982, MFA library. 6. *The Straits Times*, 12 June 1980. 7. *The Straits Times*, 3 January 1981. 8. *The Straits Times*, 5 February 1981. 9. *Ibid.* 10. *Ibid.* 11. *The Straits Times*, 28 May 1981. 12. In October 1980, the UN endorsed an ASEAN proposal for an international conference of all parties to the Kampuchean conflict. In July 1981, the International Conference on Kampuchea was convened under UN auspices. 13. *The Straits Times*, 17 July 1981. 14. S. Dhanabalan, "Scenes from the Cambodian Drama," in *The Little Red Dot: Reflections by Singapore's Diplomats*, vol. 1, edited by Tommy Koh and Chang Li Lin (Singapore: World Scientific, 2005). 15. The International Conference on Kampuchea was an important landmark because it enabled international consensus to be developed for a political solution. The consensus declaration provided a substitute provision for "appropriate arrangements" to maintain law and order, and to prevent disruption of free elections. 16. Information memorandum "Threats to ASEAN Consensus on Kampuchea" from John H. Holdridge to the secretary of state, 14 October 1981, the CIA's Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) Electronic Reading Room. 17. Interview with S.R. Nathan, 26 September 2005. 18. S.R. Nathan recounted this anecdote in his memoirs, *An Unexpected Journey: Path to the Presidency* (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 2011). Also in his oral history, NAS, and in interviews with the author. 19. Interview with S.R. Nathan, OHC, NAS. 20. Sihanouk lived in exile following the 1970 Lon Nol coup. After the Khmer Rouge takeover in 1975, he allied with Pol Pot and returned to Kampuchea, but was soon placed under house arrest. He was released in January 1979 and disassociated himself from the Khmer Rouge. 21. Nathan, *An Unexpected Journey*. 22. *The Straits Times*, 6 September 1981. 23. Notes of meeting between 2DPM Rajaratnam and minister Dhanabalan with Thai foreign minister Siddhi Savetsila and Thai officials at Erawan Hotel, Bangkok, 21 November 1981. 24. Transcript of S. Rajaratnam's discussion with Ieng Sary, 22 November 1981, Bangkok. Raja and the ASEAN leaders used "Cambodia" and "Kampuchea" interchangeably. The Indochinese state was known as Cambodia until April 1975, when the Khmer Rouge took power and renamed it Democratic Kampuchea. Under the UN transition authority from 1989 to 1993, it became the State of Cambodia. 25. Transcript of S. Rajaratnam's discussion with Ieng Sary, 22 November 1981, Bangkok. 26. Interview with S. Dhanabalan, 23 June 2010. 27. Tommy Koh and Chang Li, eds. *The Little Red Dot: Reflections by Singapore's Diplomats* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2005). 28. Notes of meeting between 2DPM and Thai foreign minister Siddhi Savetsila, 22 November 1981, Bangkok. 29. *Ibid.* 30. Notes of meeting between S. Rajaratnam and Thai prime minister Prem Tinsulanonda, 23 November 1981, Bangkok. 31. Notes of meeting between 2DPM, Thai foreign minister Siddhi Savetsila and the leaders of the three Kampuchean factions, 23 November 1981, Bangkok. 32. Statement issued at the conclusion of the visit to Bangkok by S. Rajaratnam and S. Dhanabalan, 24 November 1981, Singapore government press release, NAS. 33. Transcript of press conference given by S. Rajaratnam at Bangkok airport, 24 November 1981. 34. Information memorandum "Threats to ASEAN Consensus on Kampuchea" from John H. Holdridge to the secretary of state, 14 October 1981, the CIA's Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) Electronic Reading Room. 35. *Ibid.* 36. *Ibid.* 37. Visit of Son Sann to Singapore 23–25 April 1982, "Information Note on Kampuchea", 27 April 1982. 38. Meeting of leaders of the three Kampuchean factions to agree on a coalition government, Kuala Lumpur, 22 June 1982, "Information Note on Kampuchea", 25 June 1982. For a detailed account of the formation of the coalition, see Ang Cheng Guan, *Singapore, ASEAN and the Cambodian Conflict, 1978–1991* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2013). 39. The October 1982 UNGA vote on Democratic Kampuchea's credentials was 90 to 29, a gain of

13 from 1981. Just as impressive was the vote of 105 to 23 reaffirming the ICK's settlement terms. 40. *The Straits Times*, 22 October 1991. 41. Transcript of interview with Toshio Suzuki, chief correspondent of Asia General, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 16 December 1982, MFA Library. 42. Transcript of interview with Walter Wells, editor of the *International Herald Tribune*, 1 April 1982, MFA Library. 43. Notes of conversation between S. Rajaratnam, S. Dhanabalan and Son Sann at MFA, 2 April 1983. 44. The idea of the UN post surfaced in February 1981 in the newspaper *Indonesian Observer*. Reported in *The Business Times*, 27 February 1981, and *The Straits Times*, 27 February 1981. 45. *The Straits Times*, 6 August 1981. 46. Interview with Catherine Ong, 2 October 2014. 47. *The Straits Times*, 11 January 1983.

#### CHAPTER 32: MATTERS OF THE HEART

1. Letter by S. Rajaratnam to Piroška, 10 November 1983, author's collection. 2. Article by Dennis Bloodworth dated 5 November 1983, provided to the author. 3. Interview with S. Jothiratnam, 1 March 2006. 4. *The Straits Times*, 30 November 1983. 5. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, OHC, NAS. 6. Ibid. 7. *The Straits Times*, 4 February 1983. 8. Ibid. 9. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, OHC, NAS. 10. *The Straits Times*, 21 December 1983. 11. Interview with V.K. Pillay, 1 June 2004. 12. Opening of the 12<sup>th</sup> International University for Presidents organised by the Young Presidents' Organisation, 23 February 1981. 13. Speech at the banquet dinner organised by the Lawasia Energy section, Hilton Hotel, 5 November 1984. 14. Interview with Samiayya Kathamuthu, 2 May 2012. 15. Interview with Vadivelu Renganathan, 7 May 2012. 16. Interview with Mrs Vadivelu Renganathan, 7 May 2012. 17. Letter from Rajaratnam to S. Jayakumar, minister of home affairs, 13 October 1988, Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 18. Speech at the opening of the Third Senior Citizens' Week, Victoria Theatre, 15 November 1981.

#### CHAPTER 33: WELCOMING THE NEW GUARD

1. *The Singapore Monitor*, 30 April 1984. 2. Ibid. 3. *The Singapore Monitor*, 9 May 1984. 4. Interview with Goh Chok Tong, 4 June 2014. 5. *The Singapore Monitor*, 30 April 1984. 6. Interview with Goh Chok Tong, 4 June 2014. 7. Toh stepped down as health minister in January 1981. For an account of his unhappiness at being replaced, see Lee Kuan Yew's *From Third World To First* and Sonny Yap, Leong Weng Kam, and Richard Lim *Men in White: The Untold Story of Singapore's Ruling Political Party* (Singapore: Straits Times Press, 2010). 8. Lee, *From Third World to First*. 9. Speech by S. Rajaratnam at the inaugural Kent Ridge forum organised by the Democratic Socialist Club, National University of Singapore, 17 August 1984. 10. Rajaratnam's personal notebook, NAS. 11. Interview with Goh Chok Tong, 4 June 2014. 12. *The Straits Times*, 20 December 1984. 13. Ibid. 14. Interview with Goh Chok Tong, 5 July 2023. 15. "Comrade Rajaratnam on Hsien Loong's entry into politics. Tinker, tailor, soldier", *Petir*, September 1984. 16. The other referee was Lim Siong Guan, permanent secretary at the defence ministry. 17. Interview with Edwin Thumboo, 14 May 2014. Thumboo was later recognised as one of the pioneers of English literature in Singapore. 18. Lee Hsien Loong became a Senior Wrangler in two instead of the usual three years. He then took a postgraduate diploma in computer science, and graduated with first class honours in mathematics and a diploma in computer science (with distinction) in 1974. 19. "Comrade Rajaratnam on Hsien Loong's entry into politics. Tinker, tailor, soldier", *Petir*, September 1984. 20. Interview with V.K. Pillay, OHC, 8 December 2006. 21. Interview with V.K. Pillay, 1 June 2004. 22. *Asia Magazine*, 15–17 September 1989. 23. Interview with Dennis Bloodworth, 12 February 2005. 24. Interview with Tommy Koh, 12 June 2006. 25. Interview with Leslie Fong, 29 January 2015. 26. Speech at the 60<sup>th</sup> birthday of Lee Kuan Yew, 16 September 1983. 27. Better-educated women could get tax breaks of 5, 10 and 15 per cent of earned income for the first, second and third child, respectively. Other women, however, were paid to stop at two children or even at one. Women below 30 who agreed to sterilisation after the first or second child could get a cash grant of \$10,000 – provided both parents did not have any O-level passes and together earned less than \$1,500 a month. If she went on to have another child, she would have to repay the \$10,000 cash grant with 10 per cent compounded interest a year. 28. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, in Melanie Chew, *Leaders of Singapore*. 29. The Graduate Mother's Scheme was reversed in 1985. Some of the measures

to discourage less-educated women from having babies were gradually also rolled back. 30. *The Straits Times*, 22 July 1984. 31. Interview with David Marshall, OHC, NAS. 32. *The Singapore Monitor*, 21 August 1984. 33. Interview with Goh Chok Tong, 4 June 2014. 34. He was one of the 30 PAP candidates who were returned unopposed on nomination day.

#### CHAPTER 34: ELDER STATESMAN

1. E.W. Barker, although considered an old guard minister, actually joined politics only in 1963, becoming the minister for law in 1964. He continued to hold that post until 1988. 2. *The Straits Times*, 1 January 1985. 3. Toh stepped down in 1980, and Ong in 1984. Goh Keng Swee resigned and left politics in 1984. As for the rest of the nine men in the original 1959 Cabinet, one, Ahmad Ibrahim (health minister), died in 1962; and two left politics – K.M. Byrne (labour and law minister) in 1963, and Yong Nyuk Lin (education minister) in 1979. The last one, Ong Eng Guan, was expelled from the PAP in 1960; he left politics in 1965 after losing to a PAP candidate in a by-election. 4. Although he never gave firm dates, Lee Kuan Yew first alluded to the wisdom of retiring at the age of 65 in his National Day rally speech on 19 August 1984. Many people then speculated that he would step down as PM in 1988 when he turned 65. Lee hinted this again in a television programme aired in November (*Singapore Monitor*, 14 November 1984). In his subsequent interview by *Fortune* magazine, he said he had deliberately announced he would retire at 65 to force the younger leaders to focus on the task of taking over and to contend for prime ministership (*The Straits Times*, 10 December 1984). 5. Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 6. Taking on board Raja's concerns, the education ministry held a press briefing on 16 March to clarify that its policy of appointing school principals from among Singapore teachers remained unchanged, and would appoint expatriate teachers only in special circumstances. In the case of ACS, William Thomas was the most suitable man for the job. *Singapore Monitor*, 16 January 1985; *The Straits Times*, 17 January 1985; *The Business Times*, 17 January 1985. 7. Raja, as quoted in the SBC documentary, "Principles of Government", telecast on 19 November 1984. Also reported in *The Business Times*, 20 November 1984. 8. He was speaking at a post-election event at Kampong Glam. *The Singapore Monitor*, 18 February 1985. 9. Interview with Goh Chok Tong, 4 June 2014. 10. Interview with Lee Hsien Loong, 9 May 2014. 11. *Ibid.* 12. *Ibid.* 13. Debate on President's Address, Singapore Parliament, Official Report, 6 March 1985. 14. *The Straits Times*, 8 March 1985. 15. *The Straits Times*, 10 March 1985. 16. Interview with Lee Hsien Loong, 9 May 2014. 17. Debate on President's Address, Singapore Parliament, Official Report, 22 March 1985. 18. The salaries cited were inclusive of National Wage Council (NWC) adjustments. 19. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, 1 December 1992. 20. Raj Vasil, *Governing Singapore* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1984). 21. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, 1 December 1992. 22. Speech on the 21<sup>st</sup> anniversary dinner and dance of the Singapore Institute of Management, 27 July 1985. 23. *Ibid.* 24. *Ibid.* 25. *The Straits Times*, 4 August 1985. 26. *The Straits Times*, 6 August 1985. 27. *The Straits Times* Forum page, 14 August 1985. *Karang-guni* is Malay for rag and bone items. 28. Speech at a dinner hosted by the Foreign Correspondents Association of Southeast Asia, 17 June 1986. 29. Denis Warner, *Wake Me If There's Trouble* (Penguin Books Australia, 1995). 30. "Sinnathamby Rajaratnam: An Appreciation by Dennis Bloodworth", 5 November 1983. 31. Interview with Teo Ban Hock, 9 September 2005. 32. *Ibid.* 33. Interview with Nigel Holloway, 1 September 2014. 34. *Asia Yearbook*, 1986, *FEER*. 35. The hotel, a six-storey building in the Rochor district, collapsed because of structural defects and poor-quality construction, trapping 50 under the rubble. The four-day rescue operation involved more than 500 personnel from the civil defence force, fire service, armed forces and others. 36. Interview with Leslie Fong, 29 January 2015. 37. Lee, *From Third World to First*. 38. S. Rajaratnam's response during a question-and-answer session after his speech at the National University of Singapore Society's talk on "Ethnicity and Singaporean Singapore", 14 June 1990. Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 39. *The Straits Times*, 24 June 1987. 40. *The Straits Times*, 24 May 1988. 41. In hindsight, Goh believed that the speech was to signal to Singaporeans that Lee was not about to retire, although he had raised the expectation that Goh would take over in 1988. For Goh's account, see Peh Shing Huei, *Tall Order: The Goh Chok Tong Story*, vol. 1 (Singapore: World Scientific, 2018). 42. *The Business Times*, 6 October 1988. 43. Interview with Goh Chok Tong, 4 June 2014. 44. Peh, *Tall Order*.

## CHAPTER 35: FOREIGN POLICY SWANSONG

1. Lecture by Senior Minister S. Rajaratnam on "Evolving a Foreign Policy for Singapore", Institute of Policy Studies, 12 July 1988. 2. *Ibid.* 3. *Ibid.* 4. Speech to the Democratic Socialist Club, National University of Singapore, 21 December 1981. 5. *Ibid.* 6. Chan Heng Chee and Obaid ul Haq, eds., *The Prophetic and the Political* (Singapore: Brash, 1987). 7. Letter from S. Rajaratnam to Air Chief Marshal Siddhi Savetsila, 1 October 1990, Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 8. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009. 9. Foreword by Lee Kuan Yew, in Ng, *The Singapore Lion*. 10. Interview with S. Rajaratnam by Foong Choon Hon, *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*. 11. *The Straits Times*, 27 November 1990. 12. *The New Paper*, 20 October 1988. 13. *Ibid.* 14. S. Rajaratnam, "Riding the Vietnamese Tiger", *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 10, no. 4 (1989). 15. *Ibid.* 16. Speech by Wong Kan Seng at the S. Rajaratnam Lecture at Shangri-La Hotel, 23 November 2011. 17. *The New Paper*, 20 September 1995. 18. Interview with S. Rajaratnam, OHC, NAS. 19. *Ibid.* 20. Speech "Rocks, Faith and Miracles: Thoughts on Singapore-Malaysia Relations" at the Alpha Society and Temasek Society dinner, 13 January 1990.

## CHAPTER 36: BATTLING ON

1. S. Rajaratnam, "The Lady is Not for Taming", *Trends* no. 11, 28 July 1991, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. 2. *The Straits Times*, 29 October 1988. 3. *The Straits Times*, 2 December 1988. 4. *Ibid.* 5. Raja made clear that he was not against censors or censorship. They were necessary in this "imperfect and dangerous world provided their craft is exercised by men of sensitivity and intellect superior to those whom they have silenced. It must be used sparingly, responsibly and courageously in the face of threats and brayings by uninformed and intolerant mobs – here or abroad." 6. *The Straits Times*, 12 September 1988. 7. *The Straits Times*, 29 November 1988. 8. *The Straits Times*, 23 November 1988. 9. Speech by S. Rajaratnam at the opening of the seminar on "Tamil Language and Tamil societySociety" at the National University of Singapore, 18 July 1987. 10. Letter from Rajaratnam to Lee Kuan Yew, 24 November 1988, S. Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 11. Letter from Lee Kuan Yew to S. Rajaratnam, 30 November 1988, S. Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 12. *The Straits Times*, 23 November 1959. 13. Speech at the launch of the National Book Development Council of Singapore's Reading Trust Fund, 12 February 1992. 14. *The Straits Times*, 11 September 1988. 15. *The Straits Times*, 7 January 1981. 16. The Malays had the highest percentage (86.3 per cent) of people aged 10 years and above with less than a secondary school education (79.2 per cent at the national level) and the lowest percentage (13.7 per cent) with secondary and higher-level education (20.8 per cent at the national level). Their poor educational level was reflected in their low occupational status, with most Malays concentrated in the clerical, service and production sectors. Department of Statistics, Singapore, Census of Population 1980. 17. Lee, *From Third World to First*. 18. *Ibid.* 19. Lee Kuan Yew's address at the opening ceremony of the Congress of the Council on Education for Muslim Children (Mendaki), Singapore Conference Hall, 28 May 1982. 20. Interview with Sidek Saniff, 26 August 2014. 21. In Singapore's official records, race and ethnicity are conflated, with each individual assigned a race and a mother tongue – another issue that discomfited Raja. 22. Speech at the opening of the Taman Bacaan Youth leadership course, at the National Youth Leadership Training Institute, 29 April 1983. 23. Interview with Goh Chok Tong, 4 June 2014. 24. While the concepts of race and ethnicity are analytically distinct, they are conflated in Singapore policy and often used interchangeably in political and social discourse. 25. Interview with S. Dhanabalan, 23 June 2010. 26. Interview with Lee Hsien Loong, 9 May 2014. 27. *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER 37: FAREWELL PIROSKA

1. Interview with Tommy Koh, 12 June 2006. 2. Letter from Rajaratnam to Koh Siew Aing, 28 August 1989, courtesy of Tommy Koh. 3. *Ibid.* 4. *Ibid.* 5. *Ibid.* 6. *Ibid.* 7. *Ibid.* 8. Interview with Cecilia Tandoc, 4 October 2005. 9. Interview with V. Renganathan, 7 May 2012. 10. Letter from Rajaratnam to Koh Siew Aing, 28 August 1989. 11. Interview with M. Subramaniam, 1 June 2005. 12. Letter from Rajaratnam to Koh Siew Aing, 28 August 1989. 13. Interview with Cecilia Tandoc, 4 October 2005. 14. Letter from

Rajaratnam to Ella and Campbell Stewart, London, 1 November 1990, S. Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 15. Ibid. 16. Letter from Rajaratnam to John Hendrickson, Tucson, Arizona, 21 November 1989. S. Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 17. Interview with Loh Hock Teck, 18 November 2014. 18. Letter from Rajaratnam to V.K. Pillay, 13 July 1990, S. Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 19. Letter from Rajaratnam to Mrs M.B. Blackwood, USA, 14 January 1994, S. Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. Raja added that he had promised the Singapore national museum that it could have the ivory parrot and a few other “treasures” after his death. Unfortunately, his wish for these items to be donated to the museum was not reflected in his will, which bequeathed the house and the items in it to several relatives. 20. Telegram from Rajaratnam to Mrs Nitsa Mavroleon, Athens, Greece, 15 November 1989, S. Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 21. Interview with Cecilia Tandoc, 4 October 2005. 22. Letter from Rajaratnam to Klara and family, Hungary, 19 November 1992, S. Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 23. Letter from Rajaratnam to Mrs M.B. Blackwood, USA, 14 January 1994, S. Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 24. Letter from K.S. Sandhu to Rajaratnam, 24 October 1988, Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

#### CHAPTER 38: TOWARDS A SINGAPOREAN SINGAPORE

1. The government’s view was that the various races in Singapore should strengthen their cultural roots in order to combat the negative influences of what was seen as decadent and individualistic Western values. 2. Ethnicity and religion are closely related in the Singapore context. 3. Speech by S. Rajaratnam at the London School of Economics Alumni Association annual dinner, 10 March 1990, Rajaratnam’s private papers, author’s collection. 4. Speech by Rajaratnam at the Baba Convention, 8 December 1990, Rajaratnam’s private papers, author’s collection. 5. Speech by S. Rajaratnam at the London School of Economics Alumni Association annual dinner, 10 March 1990, Rajaratnam’s private papers, author’s collection. 6. Ibid. 7. *The Straits Times*, 19 January 1990. Raja had also earlier questioned whether there was such a thing as “Asian values,” given the heterogeneous and conflicting values in the countries making up Asia. 8. Transcript of speech by S. Rajaratnam and dialogue at the National University of Singapore Society talk on “Ethnicity and Singaporean Singapore,” 14 June 1990, Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 9. Irene Ng, ed., *The Short Stories and Radio Plays of S. Rajaratnam* (Singapore: Epigram Books 2011). 10. According to Renan, ancient differences defined by sect or creed must be left in the past: “No French citizen knows whether he is a Burgund, an Alain, a Taifala or a Visigoth. Every French citizen has forgotten St. Bartholomew’s Day and the thirteenth-century massacres in the Midi. There are only ten families in France that can furnish proof of Frankish origin and even such proof is essentially defective because of the thousand unknown pairings that can derange every genealogical system.” 11. *The Straits Times*, 10 July 1990. 12. Ibid. 13. *The Straits Times*, 9 October 1990. 14. Ibid. 15. Ibid. 16. *The Straits Times*, 2 April 1990. 17. *The Straits Times*, 5 April 1990. 18. Transcript of speech by S. Rajaratnam and dialogue at the National University of Singapore Society talk on “Ethnicity and Singaporean Singapore,” 14 June 1990, Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 19. Ibid. 20. *The Straits Times*, weekly overseas edition, 23 June 1990. 21. *The Straits Times*, 27 August 1990. 22. Interview with V.K. Pillay, OHC, NAS. 23. Interview with Dennis Bloodworth, 12 February 2005. 24. Speech at the Baba Convention, Cockpit Hotel, 8 December 1990. 25. *The Straits Times*, 2 November 1990; *Lianhe Zaobao*, 29 October 1990. 26. Interview with Ow Chin Hock, 16 May 2014. 27. Ibid. 28. Interview with Sidek Sanif, 26 August 2014. 29. Raja served as a member of the advisory panel for the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) Study Group on National Values from late 1989. He wrote this comment on his copy of the first draft of its manuscript, “In search of National Values: The Singapore Case”, in 1990. 30. *The Straits Times*, 29 October 1990. 31. Letter from Rajaratnam to Ella and Campbell Stewart, West Sussex, UK, 1 November 1990, Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 32. *The Straits Times*, 26 February 1990. 33. Interview with Loh Meng See, 6 June 2014. 34. In 1998, the money in the S. Rajaratnam Education Trust Fund was channelled to a new S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies at the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at the National Technological University. 35. *The Straits Times*, weekly overseas edition, 29 September 1990. 36. Speech by Rajaratnam

at the opening of the exhibition "Light on Historical Moments – Images on Singapore by K.F. Wong", National Archives exhibition hall, 16 November 1989. 37. Foreword by S. Rajaratnam in Gretchen Liu, *Pastel Portraits: Singapore's Architectural Heritage* (Singapore: Singapore Coordinating Committee, 1984). 38. Interview with William Lim, 23 September 2014. 39. Chiam See Tong of the Singapore Democratic Party. 40. *The Straits Times*, 23 September 1991. 41. Lee Kuan Yew acknowledged that he had become more sinicised, and said publicly in 1991: "One reason why I am now perhaps more Chinese than I was 30 years, 40 years ago, is because – as a result of learning and reading and growing old – I understand that human nature does not change." *The Straits Times*, 14 October 1991. 42. Letter to *The Straits Times* forum page, 27 September 1991. 43. See, for example, his speech, "The Ethnic Counter-revolution", delivered at the Singapore Tamil Youths' Annual Conference at the World Trade Centre, Singapore, 30 December 1989. 44. Original copy of Rajaratnam's article "Nationalism's Last Mile", sent on 8 January 1991 to the monthly magazine *Intersect* for publication in its column "Asian View". Author's collection. 45. *Shin Min Daily News*, 17 June 1990. 46. Ibid. 47. *The Straits Times*, 10 September 1990. 48. Andrew Chew in *A Tribute to a Founding Father of Modern Singapore* (Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2006). 49. Anonymous letter dated 10 November 1990, which came with a *Lianhe Zaobao* clipping announcing that he would be receiving the prestigious Order of Temasek (First Class). 50. Anonymous letter dated 26 November 1990. 51. Speech on the occasion of the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration of the Singapore Ceylon Tamils' Association, Oberoi Imperial Hotel, 10 February 1985. 52. Speech by S.M. Vasagar at an event on 19 November 1988 organised by the Ceylon Sports Club and Singapore Ceylon Tamils' Association. 53. *The Straits Times*, 22 September 1991. 54. *The Straits Times*, 3 December 1988. 55. *The Straits Times*, 9 August 1990. 56. Ibid.

#### CHAPTER 39: A GOOD FIGHT

1. S. Rajaratnam's private notebook, author's collection. 2. He dropped the book project in 1991. The proposed book "Wanderers to Starmakers" was mentioned in ISEAS Annual Report 1988/89, 1989/90 and 1990/91, but not subsequently although he was affiliated with ISEAS until 1997. 3. Speech by S. Rajaratnam at the 43<sup>rd</sup> anniversary celebration of the Government Pensioners' Association, 25 February 1989, author's collection. 4. Draft speech, "Birth, Ageing and Death", 30 August 1990, author's collection. 5. Ibid. 6. Rajaratnam's notebook, author's collection. 7. *Asia Magazine*, 15–17 September 1989. 8. Speech at the launch of the National Book Development Council of Singapore Reading Trust fund, 21 February 1992. 9. Letter from S. Rajaratnam to Mat Schwitzer in London, 3 November 1992. 10. *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, edited by David Bevington (Foresman, 1980.). 11. Issue No. no. 36 dated 28–29 August 1993, distributed with the *Business Times*. Although Raja was not active in editing *Trends* after that, ISEAS, out of respect for him, retained his affiliation with the institute as well as his designation as editor-in-chief until issue no. 85, dated 27–28 September 1997. 12. Letter from Rajaratnam to Klara in Hungary, 23 November 1993, Rajaratnam Private Papers Collection, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. 13. At the time, vascular dementia often went unrecognised, but his uncle V.K. Pillay, who was a doctor, suspected that Raja suffered from this, given his transient ischemic attacks and heart problems. 14. *The New Paper*, 28 February 1995. 15. Rajaratnam's office diary, ISEAS. 16. Interview with V.K. Pillay, 1 June 2004. 17. Ibid. 18. *The Straits Times*, 10 April 2006.